



The  
**INDEPENDENT**

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**Mel C** Was Margaret Thatcher the first Spice Girl? Absolutely not!



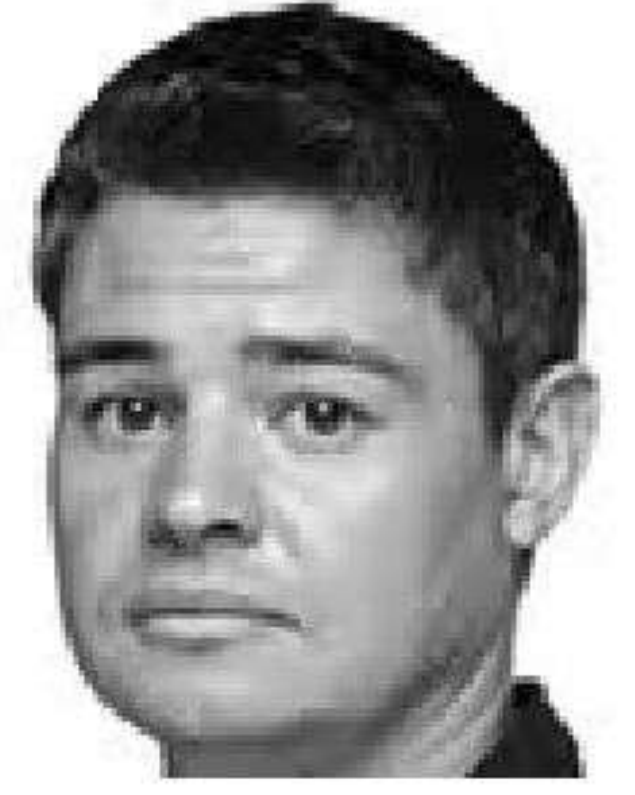
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## 24-hour queue for a moment of history



A steady stream of mourners waiting to see the Queen's coffin yesterday despite warnings of cold weather

## Torture victims among bodies in mass grave

Entire families found in 400 graves at Izyum, says Zelensky

**ANDRYI MAKARENKO AND  
KIM SENGUPTA**

Bodies unearthed at a mass grave in eastern Ukraine included victims of torture,

some with broken limbs and ropes around their necks, Volodymyr Zelensky said last night. The burial site in Izyum, an area recently recaptured from Russian forces, contained

entire families, the Ukrainian president said. Residents warned investigators would make more grim discoveries. "I don't think they found all the bodies," local people said.





## Editorials

# Russia must answer for its horrendous war crimes

Mass graves, mass destruction, mass violation of human rights, and torture. The only surprise for the liberators of the Ukrainian city of Izyum is that the destruction and the pain inflicted on civilians wasn't even worse.

Like Bucha, Mariupol and many other places large and small, the Russians and their mercenary Chechen allies showed no mercy. They committed war crimes – and once again the Ukrainian authorities will have to piece together what evidence they can recover for indictments and as evidence in some future trial.

It recalls some of the worst episodes in Europe in the past century and more of conflicts: 440 bodies discovered at a mass burial site in the city, many killed by indiscriminate shelling and through a lack of medical care. As the conflict has proceeded, it has become clear that the Russian forces only have three reliable methods of warfare: sheer numbers, heavy bombardment of civilian targets to trigger terror – and sadistic repression once they have taken control of the rubble.

Much good it has done them. Ukrainian people who might otherwise have been passive under occupation have fought back – and the horrors have proved a mighty motivation for



Ukrainian units to free their fellow citizens. The Ukrainians' deep hatred of the Russians and Vladimir Putin will never be extinguished, even when peace does come.

The Russian spring offensive, therefore, was futile. It has left nothing behind except misery and broken homes. When the Ukrainians – bolstered by patriotic fervour and Western munitions and intelligence – launched their offensive to the east, the Russians put up little resistance and ran away as fast as they could, abandoning tanks and half-finished meals.

Badly led, badly fed and bewildered, President Putin's conscript army must have looked around them and wondered what it was they were fighting for. Shocked by the audacity of the Ukrainian counterattack, and awed by the technological superiority of Western technology, all they could do is scarper – or “regroup”, as the Kremlin prefers to put it.

Although it might not be uppermost in their minds, any Russian troops and their more senior officers who committed, condoned or commanded war crimes will know that, one day, justice may catch up with them. As with the Nuremberg trials after the Second World War – and more recent tribunals after civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone and Rwanda, among others – the war criminals hardly expected that events would turn so far against them that they would be caught, hunted down, or, in some cases, handed over by their successors in government. So it will be with Ukraine.

A new regime in Russia becomes more likely with every military setback, every fresh diplomatic humiliation and every rouble lost through sanctions. President Putin, for reasons known only to himself, declared to the world after the visit of Xi Jinping that China has “questions and concerns” over the war in Ukraine. The Chinese may well find Russia an agreeable, like-minded ally, but Russian failures must make them doubt the practical value of their partnership.

The “special military operation” in Ukraine has not, after all, provided a useful precedent for aggressive action towards Taiwan, and has only served to highlight how corrupt and weak



Russia actually is – aside from a nuclear arsenal it cannot use. Moreover, as a nation that relies on exports to the West, China cannot look kindly upon Mr Putin’s use of gas as a weapon to force a global recession. That is not in the Chinese national interest.

Volodymyr Zelensky, visiting his broken eastern regions, says “our law enforcers are already receiving evidence of murder, torture, and abductions of people by the occupiers”, adding there was “evidence of genocide against Ukrainians”.

That is an understandable claim, and all the more so in the context of President Putin’s long discursions about why Ukraine was not only not a legitimate country, but that its people did not have their own distinct identity or culture. It will be for the international authorities to determine what exactly took place in this merciless war of aggression, and who should be charged.

One day they will be held responsible – and if he is still around, Vladimir Putin may well find himself on a charge sheet.

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# Zelensky: Torture evidence after mass grave discovery



Forensic technicians investigate a grave at a site on the outskirts of Izyum yesterday (AFP/Getty)

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**TOM BATCHELOR**  
**JOE MIDDLETON**

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Volodymyr Zelensky has accused Russia of genocide after the discovery of a mass grave allegedly containing 440 bodies near Izyum, a city recently recaptured from Russian forces.

The Ukrainian president said there was evidence that victims had been tortured. He said that some had been found with



broken limbs and ropes around their necks, and that the burial site contained the bodies of civilians and of military personnel. “Children and adults. Civilians and military. Tortured, shot, killed by shelling,” Mr Zelensky said. “Even entire families are buried there: mother, father and daughter.”

More than 400 graves have been found at the site. Mr Zelensky, who visited the area around Izyum on Wednesday, said the discoveries showed again the need for world leaders to declare Russia a state sponsor of terrorism. He confirmed the grim discovery overnight on Thursday, and said that “the necessary procedures have already begun there”.

“The Russian army has been in the Kharkiv region for more than five months. And during this time, the occupiers did not even try to do anything for the people,” said Mr Zelensky. “They only destroyed, only deprived, only took away. They left behind devastated villages, and in some of them there is not a single undamaged house. Russia cannot bring anything else except for genocide.”



**Graves of unidentified civilians and Ukrainian soldiers were found in a forest outside Izyum (AP)**

The site in the eastern city of Izyum also contained the bodies of people who had been killed by shelling and airstrikes, regional police official Serhiy Bolvinov said.

Mr Bolvinov, the chief police investigator for the Kharkiv region, told Sky News that forensic investigations would be



carried out on all of the bodies. Yesterday it was reported that some 200 wooden crosses had been discovered at a site close to the city. There was at least one mass grave, with a marker saying it contained the bodies of 17 Ukrainian soldiers.

Yesterday, Ukraine's police chief said that most of the people buried in the mass grave were civilians. Asked if the Izyum site contained mainly civilians or soldiers, police chief Ihor Klymenko told a news conference: "On a preliminary estimate, civilians. Although we have information that there are soldiers there, too, we haven't recovered a single one yet." The exhumations are continuing, he added.

Local resident Sergei Gorodko said that among the hundreds buried in individual graves were dozens of adults and children killed in a Russian airstrike on an apartment building. He said he had pulled some of them out of the rubble "with my own hands".

A spokesperson for the UN's human rights office, Liz Throssell, told a press briefing in Geneva that the organisation plans to send monitors to the city to "to try to establish a bit more about what may have happened", though she did not give a timeframe.

Mr Zelensky put the blame on Russia and likened the discovery to what had happened in Bucha, on the outskirts of the Ukrainian capital Kyiv, during the early stages of the invasion by Russian forces. Ukraine and its Western allies have accused Russian forces of perpetrating war crimes there.

"Bucha, Mariupol... now, unfortunately, Izyum. Russia leaves death everywhere. And it must be held accountable for it. The world must bring Russia to real responsibility for this war," Mr Zelensky said.





Volodymyr Zelensky arrives for an interview with reporters in Kyiv yesterday (Reuters)

Russia's forces left Izyum and other parts of the Kharkiv region last week amid a stunning Ukrainian counteroffensive. On Wednesday, Mr Zelensky made a rare trip out of Ukraine's capital to watch the raising of the national flag at Izyum's city hall.

Russia has not yet commented on the allegations of a mass grave at Izyum. Moscow has repeatedly denied that it targets civilians or has committed war crimes. However, an unrepentant Vladimir Putin warned that the war could get "more serious" for Ukraine, despite the smaller country's recent successes.

Speaking after a summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation in the Uzbek city of Samarkand, Mr Putin said Moscow was in no hurry in Ukraine, and that its goals remained unchanged.

"The Kyiv authorities announced that they have launched and are conducting an active counteroffensive operation. Well, let's see how it develops, how it ends up," Mr Putin said with a grin. "Recently, the Russian armed forces have inflicted a couple of sensitive blows. Let's assume they're a warning. If the situation continues to develop like this, then the response will be more serious," he said.

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# ‘Some were taken to Russia – others were killed here’

Residents of Izyum tell **Kim Sengupta** of neighbours killed in airstrikes whose remains have not been recovered, and of those whose bodies were ‘put in sacks and thrown on trucks’



Ukrainian personnel search for landmines at a mass burial site near Izyum yesterday (AFP/Getty)

The crosses are in neat rows, placed with almost military precision in a silent forest of falling autumn leaves. The tranquil scene hides what lies beneath: bodies, in their hundreds, of the dead of Izyum. The mass grave was found by Ukrainian forces who recaptured the town; around 440 corpses, of more than a



thousand estimated to have been killed during the Russian occupation.

Volodymyr Zelensky described what had happened here as another symbol of the savage violence in this conflict. “We want the world to know what the Russian occupation has caused – Bucha, Mariupol... now, unfortunately, Izyum,” said the Ukrainian president.

Some of those buried in the forest appear to have been killed by bombs and artillery strikes in the fierce fighting for the town, which became the main Russian stronghold in the area. But there are dozens of others still missing after being arrested by the Russians, as reports have emerged of summary executions. Searches are taking place for other burial sites.



**Residents walk past the remains of a tank in Izyum after the city was liberated from Russian occupation (EPA)**

The crosses were placed by Ukrainian officials to mark the graves. The bodies will be removed to Kharkiv. The head of President Zelensky’s office, Andriy Yarmuk, said more information would be provided after forensic tests had been carried out.

Serhiy Bolvinov, Kharkiv’s chief investigator, said: “We know that some were killed, some died because of artillery fire, so-called mine explosion traumas. Some died because of airstrikes. Also we have information that a lot of bodies have not been



identified yet; the reasons of death will be established during the investigations.”

Anton Shvets speaks of neighbours who were killed in a missile strike as the fighting intensified. “There was a family of five people living in the house, three of them were children,” he says. “The mother and a girl were killed. It was a big rocket – you can see it left nothing much of the house. There were many others killed as well; it was all really terrible.”

Around 50 residents were killed in an airstrike on a five-storey block of flats in May. The skeleton of the building still stands, but the internal structure has been blown away.



Forensic technicians carry a body bag in a forest near Izyum (AFP/Getty)

“I don’t think they found all the bodies from then,” says Lyudmilla Doroshenka. “There will be some people buried from that. Others were taken away to be buried... they were put in sacks and thrown onto trucks. Quite a few people died from their injuries from bombings. The hospitals had run out of medicine, there were no supplies coming in. A lot of these people would have lived if they could get treatment.”

There are still more who have disappeared, says Ms Doroshenka. “We know of some who have been taken to Russia. They were arrested and accused of all kinds of things. Some, we hear, were killed here. They were not soldiers, just people who worked for the local authority and others.”



Among the burnt and wrecked buildings lie Russian tanks destroyed by Ukrainian fire. Other armoured cars and trucks, relatively undamaged, lie abandoned by retreating forces. “They oppressed us for months. It’s difficult to believe how quickly they fled,” says Artem, one of a group of local residents talking to Ukrainian soldiers. “We know they have gone, but there’s always a fear they’ll try to come back.”

*Additional reporting by Andryi Makarenko*

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# Thousands brave the chill despite 24-hour long wait



The queue yesterday on the Embankment along the River Thames to see the Queen lying in state (AP)

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**ALASTAIR JAMIESON**

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Tens of thousands of mourners queuing through central London were warned yesterday it will take up to 24 hours to reach the Queen's coffin and that temperatures are expected to drop.

Britons of all ages and from all walks of life have lined-up around the clock to pay their respects to the monarch, joining a well-



organised five-mile queue that begins near Bermondsey on the south bank of the Thames then crosses the river to parliament's Westminster Hall.

Undeterred by forecasts of a chilly night ahead, a stream of well-wishers joined the queue until a government tracker put the expected wait time at 24 hours.

The London Ambulance Service said it and partner agencies had cared for 435 patients who fell ill along the route by the end of Thursday, with hundreds more expected.

"I've no sensation in my knees at all or my legs," said Hyacinth Appah, a mourner from London who was in the queue. "But it's been fine. Most of the people have been lovely and we've had quite a nice time."

Around 750,000 people are expected to have filed past the Queen's coffin ahead of the state funeral on Monday.

Spotted among them yesterday was England football legend David Beckham, who is believed to have joined the queue at 0200 and to have lined up for more than 10 hours.

"We have been lucky as a nation to have had someone who has led us the way her majesty has led us, for the amount of time, with kindness, with caring and always reassurance," he told reporters after tearfully paying his respects.



David Beckham after paying his respects to the Queen's coffin (Reuters)



“I think that's the one thing that we all felt safe and we will continue that with the royal family. But I think her majesty was someone special and will be missed, not just by everyone in our country but everyone around the world.”

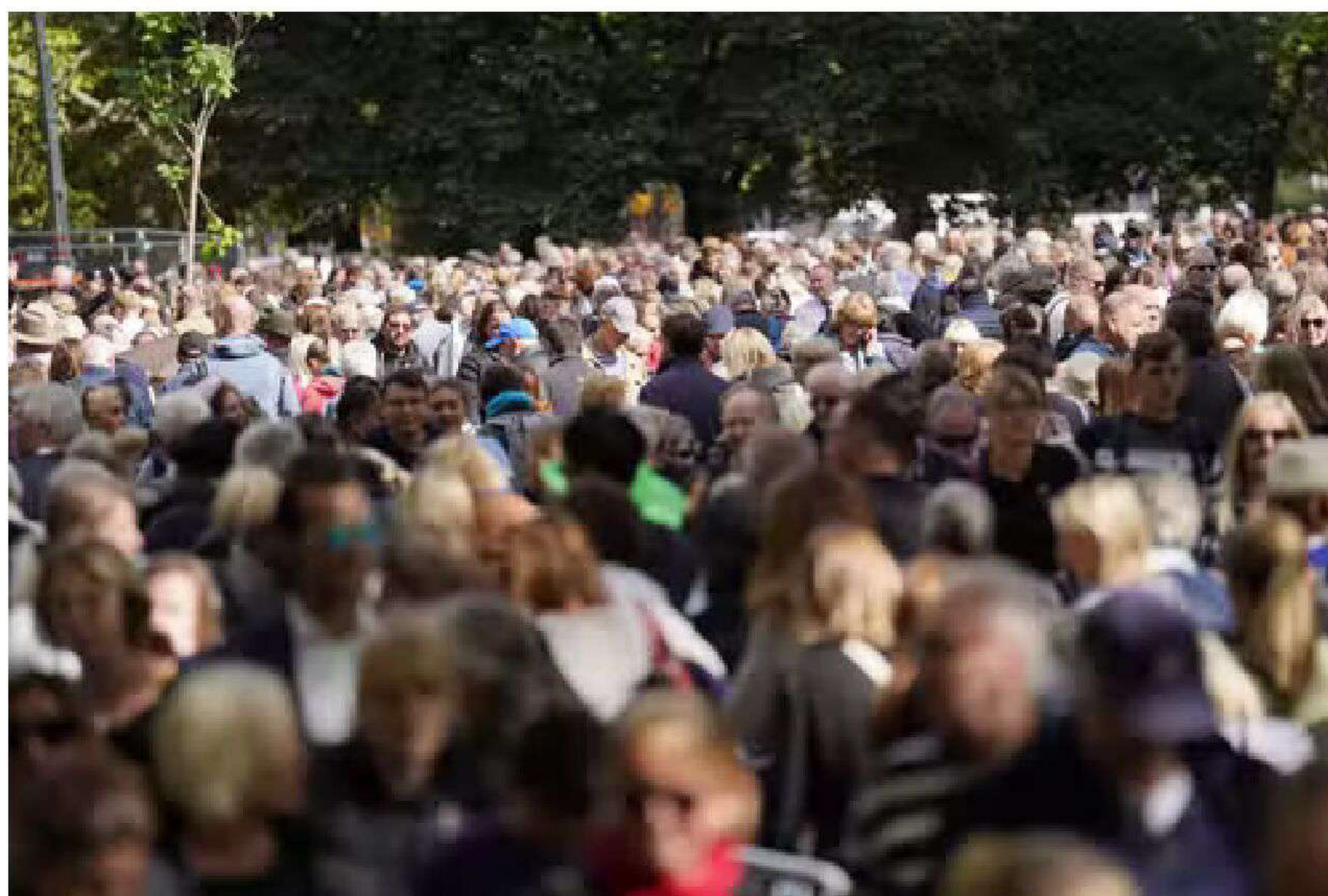
New Zealand prime minister Jacinda Ardern, in London for the funeral, was also among those who visited Westminster Hall yesterday, stopping to curtsy as she filed past the coffin.

Tatie Kirst, 38, of Canada Water in southeast London, a project manager who had just joined the queue in Southwark Park, said: "Well, it's a journey right? I think I'm prepared, I brought my good coat, I have a stool if I need to sit, I'm getting food and water, and we're going to walk the way.

"I think there is always a question, Is it worth it? Can I make it? And hopefully, yes. I wanted to be part of this, pay my respect to the Queen."

The queue was earlier paused for 40 minutes when it reached capacity, and when it reopened mourners were urged by the DCMS not to join the line until at least 1600.

Officials stopped people joining the queue entirely at around 1135 at the entrance to Southwark Park due to overwhelming demand. Downing Street said the queue system was going to plan.



Members of the public in the queue at Southwark Park yesterday (PA)



James Birchall, 33, a trainee physiotherapist who travelled from Liverpool to pay his respects, was also queuing. He said: “Now I just feel normal and unemotional but as I get closer and closer [to the Queen's coffin] I think I'll start to become more emotional and maybe five minutes before I go in I'll probably, even though I don't look like the type of person, I'll probably start crying.

“I absolutely loved the Queen, she was great, she had been there all my life, I have always had respect for her. She was great for our country, always did her duty right until she died. When she died I was overcome with emotion and I thought, I have got to come to London to see it.”

On the thousands of people queuing, he added: “I'm absolutely amazed because there is so many people, young and old – I did not think young people would come, necessarily, because they are not really in tune with monarchy, but there's so many young people here to pay their respects which I think is awesome.”

Also queuing was Vlasta Picker, 73, of Bedford, who said: “I came here in 1977 on the Silver Jubilee. Growing up in central Europe, monarchy was a thing of the past, history. I was really quite mesmerised, it was massive in 1977 and I have admired her ever since because she was a wonderful person, unique. To serve all her life until the end, it's something, isn't it? Unprecedented. And that's why I want to be here.”

Meanwhile, a man was arrested last night at Westminster Hall after he is thought to have charged at the coffin. An eye witness said police “had him within two seconds”.

Another man has been charged over two sexual assault charges. Adio Adeshine, 19, is accused of exposing himself and pushing into the mourners from behind as they waited in the queue at Victoria Tower Gardens on Wednesday evening after Westminster Hall opened its doors to the public.


Adeshine is said to have jumped into the River Thames in an attempt to evade police officers before coming out and being arrested. He was remanded in custody yesterday after appearing at Westminster Magistrates' Court charged with two counts of



sexual assault and two counts of breaching a sexual harm prevention order.

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# Anti-monarchy protesters boo King Charles in Wales



Republicans and royalists await the King at Cardiff Castle yesterday (Chris Jackson/Getty)

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**ANDY GREGORY**

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Booing could be heard among the wave of cheers as King Charles III approached Cardiff Castle during his first visit to Wales as monarch.



Despite being intended as a silent demonstration by a number of groups under the banner Real Democracy Now, a small number of anti-monarchy protesters could be heard voicing their discontent as the King and Queen Consort arrived at the castle by motorcade yesterday, with one shouting: “God save the people.”

Around 40 protesters stood amid the sea of union jacks and Welsh flags held up to welcome King Charles, some brandishing placards reading, “We want a democracy, a Welsh republic” and “Abolish the Monarchy”. At points, the rally broke into song led by members of the socialist choir Cor Cochion.

It is the first notable sign of anti-monarchy sentiment that the King has encountered during his tour of the devolved nations in his first days as sovereign, and his visit to Cardiff also happened to fall on the day celebrating the rebel Owain Glyndwr – who is considered to be the last native-Welsh Prince of Wales.

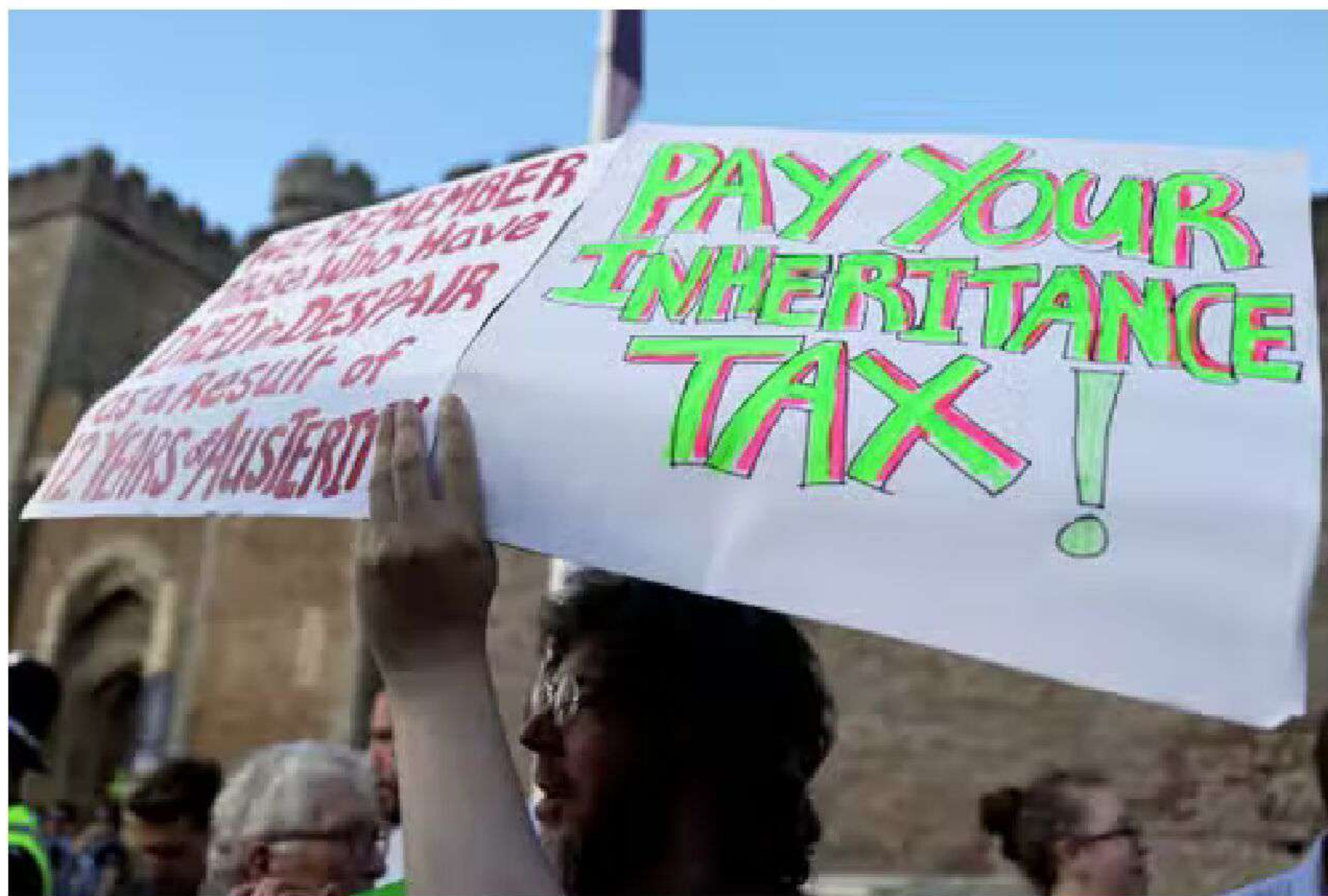
Charles, whose own 64-year grip on the title came to an end last week with the death of his mother, Queen Elizabeth II, had travelled to Cardiff Cathedral from the Senedd, where he gave his first address to members of the Welsh parliament at a remembrance event.

Having been taught Welsh at the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth in 1969, the King spoke bilingually as he recalled that his late mother had been devoted to the country, adding: “I take up my new duties with immense gratitude for the privilege of having been able to serve as Prince of Wales.

“That ancient title dating from the time of those great Welsh rulers like Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, whose memory is still rightly honoured, I now pass to my son William, whose love for this corner of the Earth is made all the greater by the years he himself has spent here.”

Schoolchildren were among the hundreds who waited outside the parliament building ahead of their arrival, waving Wales flags and chanting “We want the King”.





‘Pay your inheritance tax’: a man holds up placards critical of the King outside the castle (Reuters/Carl Recin)

After entering the building, the King and Queen Consort were greeted by a fanfare from the trumpeters from the band of The Royal Welsh, with harpists playing as they moved towards the debating chamber.

Upon their return outside, however, Charles and Camilla were met with boos from Welsh nationalist protesters, who held up signs with the name of Owain Glyndwr. But these were reportedly drowned out quickly by the sound of people singing “God Save the King”, and the new monarch was undeterred in walking over to the crowd to greet well-wishers.

It was on 16 September in the year 1400 when Glyndwyr began a 15-year uprising against the king of England, Henry IV, in a revolt considered the last Welsh war of independence.

Proclaimed by his followers as the Prince of Wales, Glyndwyr has since been viewed as a figurehead of Welsh nationalism and the independence movement, with thousands celebrating his life and legacy each year on 16 September.

But following the Queen’s death last Thursday at the age of 96, a number of Glyndwr Day events have been cancelled, prompting some anger.

Despite the protests, the reception for King Charles and Camilla in Wales was largely positive.





The king greets the public (Chris Jackson/Pool/AFP/Getty)

Earlier in the day, the atmosphere had also been welcoming around Llandaff Cathedral where the King and Queen Consort attended a memorial service for the late Queen, led by the Archbishop of Wales.

But while members of the public chanted “God save the King” and showered the couple with flowers and gifts, a lone male voice at one point shouted over the crowd: “We pay £100m a year for you, and for what?”

With police forces having been criticised in recent days over their handling of anti-monarchy protesters, Welsh first minister Mark Drakeford had emphasised ahead of the royal visit that “people have a legitimate right to protest”.

“People have that right and I think it will be exercised with restraint and it will be a footnote to the dominant feelings of the day,” Mr Drakeford said.

Campaigners have said they want the Welsh public to consider whether a future without the monarchy is possible, and a petition calling for the end of the use of the Prince of Wales title by the British monarchy has gathered almost 30,000 signatures in a week.

Opinion polls taken in 2009 and 2018 both suggested that significantly more than 50 per cent of people in Wales favoured there being another Prince of Wales after Charles.



However, a more recent poll in June 2022, conducted by YouGov, found that just 46 per cent of respondents thought there should be another Prince of Wales, compared with 31 per cent who did not.

Mr Drakeford also warned that Prince William should not be crowned Prince of Wales with a lavish ceremony as seen in the past, such as with Prince Charles's investiture at Caernarfon Castle in 1969.

That event was marred by bombings by the Welsh paramilitary group Mudiad Amddiffyn Cymru.

"The Wales of 2022 is very different to the Wales of 1969," he said. "I don't think looking back at that event and thinking of it as some sort of pattern that you would wish to pick up and copy, I don't think that would be the right way to go about things."

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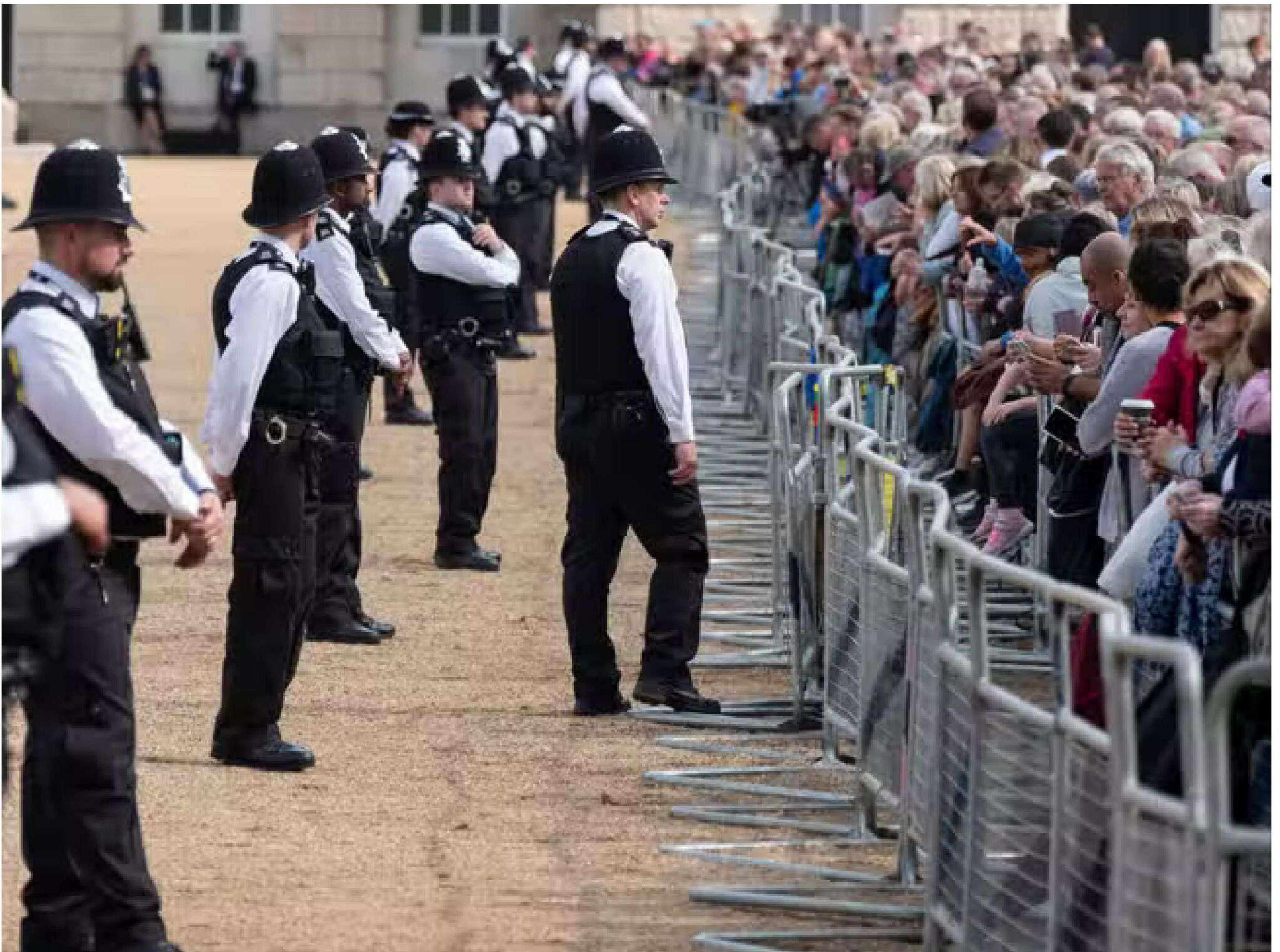
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# ‘Someone deciding to do something on the day is your security nightmare’

**Lizzie Dearden** on the biggest police operation in UK history



Horse Guards Parade last week as the Queen’s coffin was taken to Westminster Hall (Getty)

Drains, phone boxes and bins are being searched by hand and sealed off as part of preparations for the Queen’s funeral.



The biggest security operation known in British history is being mounted for the historic occasion, as over 500 world leaders and dignitaries fly in from around the globe.

Thousands of police officers have been drawn into London to bolster numbers, including armed police and those with “specialist capabilities”, with shifts extended and rest days cancelled.

They will be combing Westminster Abbey, the route of the Queen’s funeral procession and Windsor for any potential threats ahead of Monday’s commemorations.

Armed police, sniffer dogs, CCTV cameras, snipers, horses, boats, helicopters and thousands of police officers will be deployed on the day, which is the biggest single operation the Metropolitan Police has ever undertaken – surpassing even the 2012 London Olympics.

Deputy assistant commissioner Stuart Cundy said the force, alongside partners in the government and intelligence agencies, had been “considering a whole range of potential threats and incidents that might occur”.

That includes terror attacks, criminal activity, disruptive protests, crowd surges and crushes.

Mr Cundy said the stabbing of two police officers yesterday morning, although not related to the Queen’s death, highlighted the risks at stake.

“It brings into sharp focus the need for all officers on duty, with support of members of the public, to maintain vigilance and flag anything they’re concerned about,” he added. “An incident such as this is always something we’re always very mindful of when it comes to major events.”

US president Joe Biden and French president Emmanuel Macron will be among the 2,000 people gathered inside Westminster Abbey for Monday’s funeral service, which will be followed by a procession and committal ceremony in Windsor.

The leaders of most Commonwealth countries such as Australia and Canada will also attend, alongside the presidents of nations



such as Germany, Italy and Brazil.

Also on the guest list are European royals including King Felipe of Spain and his wife, Queen Letizia.

They will join members of the British royal family, UK prime ministers past and present and key figures from public life in one of the most high-profile gatherings ever seen.

Mr Cundy said the operation to protect international figures was the largest of its kind in Britain's history.

“We will have hundreds of world leaders, UK leaders and VIPs in London, it is a hugely complex operation,” he told a press conference yesterday.



US president Joe Biden is among the world leaders attending the funeral (AP)

“Specialist officers from the Met and other forces, working with the Foreign Office and many other organisations, are well versed with engaging with world leaders and their own protection teams from wherever they come from. We need to make sure this is a safe and secure event.”

A former royal protection officer told *The Independent* that elements of the plan for the Queen's funeral had been previously tested at the wedding of the now Prince and Princess of Wales and other large public events such as last year's UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow.



Simon Morgan explained that although foreign dignitaries could bring their own security teams into Britain, they are only allowed to carry guns “in exceptional circumstances” because the UK has different laws than other countries.

“UK policing teams have primacy because they have the legislation behind them,” he added.

“Any foreign protection team coming into the UK fully understands the rules they have to play with, as it is when we go to their country.”

Arrangements are agreed in advance through liaison facilitated by the Foreign Office and the Executive Committee for the Protection of Royalty and Public Figures (Ravec).

The Metropolitan Police is then instructed who to give protection to, and has pulled in armed officers from across the UK to ensure it has sufficient capability for visible and covert patrols.

Peter Miles, chief executive of international security firm Broadstone Risks, told *The Independent* that depending on the level of security afforded to a particular funeral attendee, they may receive 24-hour protection covering their home or hotel as well as any public engagements.

Lesser figures may only bring one security guard or a small team, while world leaders such as the US president are expected to arrive with a whole team of people, vehicles and specialist equipment, he added.

“They cannot officially carry or bring any personal protective equipment – baton, sprays, guns etc,” Mr Miles said.

“Security is provided by the UK, subject to Foreign Office and Ravec approval. Else they are protected privately by their own accompanying teams. There are some very specific exceptions, however this is governed very tightly.”

Mr Morgan, now the director of operations for security firm Trojan Consultancy, said that as well as guard duty, British police are also responsible for ensuring the locations where events are held are secure.



He said Westminster Abbey, the procession route and other key places would be “searched and sealed”.

“Searching is a massive part of the police operation along with firearms and road policing,” he added. “There are also behaviour analysts to monitor the crowd – how’s the crowd behaving? Are some parts better than others? Is there an individual in a crowd behaving differently? All these things are being looked at.”

Mr Morgan said that while the potential for terror attacks and security risks are at the foreground of planning, with the security services keeping an eye on “subjects of interest” and feeding police any necessary intelligence, protests are also a key part of consideration.



**A police sniper watches over the Palace of Holyroodhouse  
(Getty Images)**

“Somebody will look at that event and see that they can use the world’s media to highlight their cause,” he added. “When you come down to small groups of people and individuals who don’t create any intelligence footprint, that is always very difficult to predict.

“Someone who decides they are going to do something on the day is your nightmare.”

Mr Morgan believes that plans for the Queen’s funeral will take account of recently-evolved protest tactics, such as people glueing themselves to roads or locking onto each other, and the knock-on security risks they could create.



Mr Cundy said the policing operation “covers the whole spectrum of what it is that we think might occur”, adding: “The range of officers and staff supporting the operation is truly immense.”

The senior officer said armed and unarmed officers, mounted branch, special escort units and motorbike outriders, dogs and police marine units would all be on duty.

“Since the death of the Queen we have been implementing our well planned and hugely complex policing operation in London,” he added.

“More or less every UK force is represented in London to support this national set of events and the tens of thousands of members of the public who have been coming to London to pay their respects.

“We will do everything we can to ensure that the events leading up to the state funeral are safe.”

Following the Queen’s funeral procession through London, her coffin will be taken onwards to Windsor for a committal ceremony.

Airport-style security, including scanners and bag searches, will be in place for members of the public wishing to view the event near the castle, while Thames Valley Police is also utilising Automatic Number Plate Recognition Cameras and drones for the security operation.

Assistant Chief Constable Tim De Meyer said the force aimed to ensure a “proper, safe and dignified” farewell to the monarch.

The events are the culmination of decades of planning by multiple government departments, police and the security services, known as Operation London Bridge.

For the government, the Queen’s death triggered the biggest public service operations since the 2012 London Olympics.

Civil servants are working 24-7, with more than 100 working in a central operational response team and around 1,150 staff volunteering for other roles.



Daily ministerial meetings have been taking place and proceedings are being overseen by Sarah Healey, permanent secretary of the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

As well as police, other emergency services and branches of the military will be supporting the Queen's funeral, alongside volunteers from the British Red Cross, Scouts, Salvation Army, Samaritans and St John's Ambulance.

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# The deft diplomacy of the Queen's funeral guest list



Charles keeps vigil in Westminster Hall yesterday (Getty)

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**SEAN O'GRADY**

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The Queen broke many records in her long life and reign, and her funeral seems set to be another unprecedented event. Perhaps strangely, this is the first funeral to be held at Westminster Abbey since George II's in 1760. Most royal funerals since have been small, simple family services at Windsor – those of George VI in 1952 and the Duke of Windsor,



the former Edward VIII, in 1972. The other exception is Richard III, interred at Leicester Cathedral in 2015.

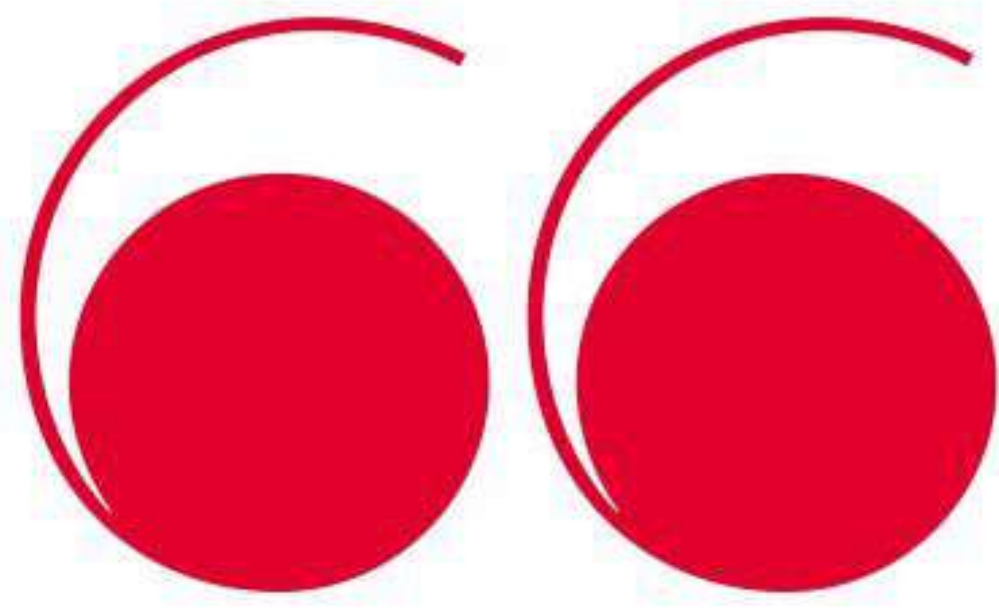
This is going to be a far more ambitious operation, with a formidable guest list. Because the House of Windsor, and its predecessors, followed the dynasto-diplomatic European tradition of intermarrying families for the purposes of building alliances, the Queen was related to almost every royal house in London, deposed or not. Indeed she married her (third) cousin, Prince Philip of Greece and Denmark, albeit for love, which added another dimension to the family tree.

So the first names on the guest list pretty much suggest themselves via DNA: Prince Albert II and Princess Charlene of Monaco, King Felipe and Queen Letizia of Spain, King Philippe and Queen Mathilde of Belgium, King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia of Sweden, King Willem-Alexander and Queen Maxima of the Netherlands, King Harald V of Norway, and Queen Margrethe of Denmark. Emperor Naruhito of Japan will also be there. It will be the biggest assembly of mixed royalty for many years, and no doubt the now-deposed royals of Greece, for example, will attend as friends as well as family.

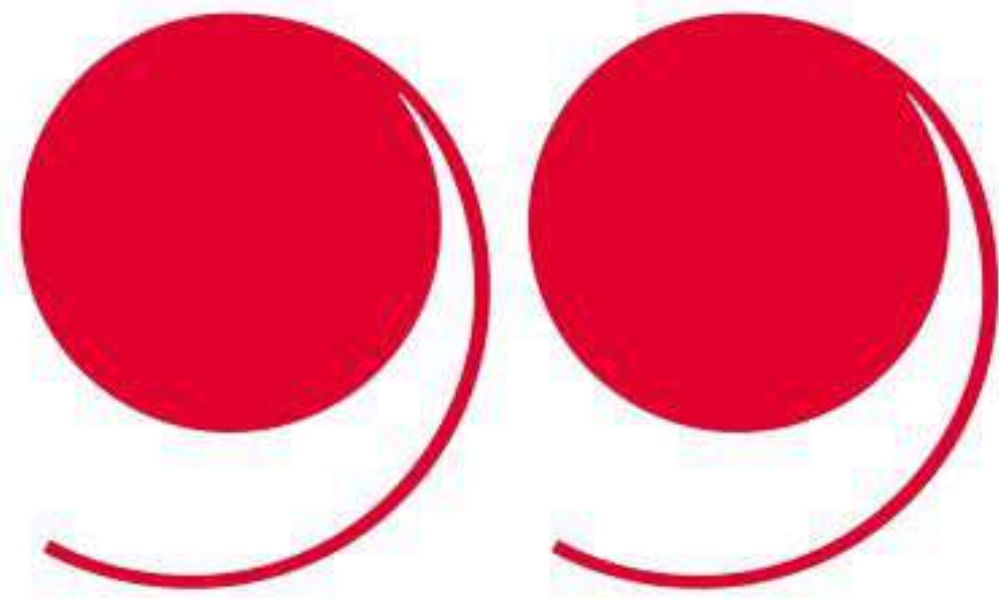
The rest of the list is really the responsibility of the Foreign Office, graded according to their usefulness to His Majesty's government but balanced with royal sensibilities.

Next up are the leaders of the former Queen's realms, such as Australia, which get an additional allocation of 10 tickets for suitably distinguished subjects. Anthony Albanese, Jacinda Ardern, Justin Trudeau, and many other "realm" and Commonwealth premiers will attend. However, there is no show from prime minister Narendra Modi of India, who is sending the president of India instead, and President Mnangagwa of Zimbabwe, who is sending his foreign minister. Mnangagwa was the victim of an internet hoax suggesting the British government had snubbed him.





**This is the first funeral to be held at Westminster Abbey since George II's in 1760**



Then there are the other friendly nations. As is only to be expected, American exceptionalism is in evidence as President Joe Biden and the first lady will be allowed to bring along their own armoured Cadillac, The Beast, while the rest of the world is expected to share luxury minibus transport. This, and the seating arrangements in the church, will present special challenges. The easiest way to smooth diplomatic feathers would be to seat the delegations in alphabetical order, but shoving the Israelis next to the Iranians or placing the Azeris in close proximity to the Armenians would be surely asking for trouble.

In fact, Iran joins North Korea and Nicaragua in being given a basic invite at “ambassadorial” level, rather than head of state or government, even though Iran doesn’t have an ambassador in London (a substitute has been found). On the other hand China, which enjoys now uneasy relations with the UK, will be sending a representative of President Xi, who is otherwise engaged. Interestingly, President Erdogan of Turkey may not be there, nor perhaps the prime minister of Israel (Turkey’s foreign minister Mevlut Cavusoglu, Israel’s president Isaac Herzog could be “coming off the bench” for the occasion).

Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman will reportedly travel to London to deliver the kingdom’s condolences to the royal family, but no confirmation on whether he will attend the



funeral. It is hard to picture him in the back of a Mercedes-Benz Vito people carrier, but there we are.

Then there are the pariahs. Leaders or ambassadors from Syria and Venezuela would not be invited because Britain does not currently have diplomatic relations with those states; Afghanistan is also not invited due to “the current political situation” according to the Foreign Office. The same, fairly obviously, goes for Russia, Myanmar and Belarus. By contrast President Zelensky of Ukraine, if he could spare the time, would be given the hero treatment.

All in all a decent turnout, and one at least the equal of the near-coterminous UN General Assembly. In the “margins” of the funeral no doubt little diplomatic manoeuvres will take place, and Liz Truss has already had a chat with Albanese and Ardern. She might even make time for President Macron at the reception. The Queen’s funeral will be a sad, spectacular event, then, but also one with some political meaning and consequence.

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# Alarm over Saudi crown prince's visit to London



Mohammed bin Salman visits Downing Street in 2018 (Getty)

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**ANDY GREGORY**

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Saudia Arabia's crown prince should not be "allowed to stain the Queen's memory", the fiance of murdered journalist Jamal Khashoggi has warned, after reports claimed Mohammed bin Salman plans to visit Britain.

Human rights defenders reacted with alarm to the news, first reported by *CNN Arabic*, that the heir to the Saudi throne will



travel to London tomorrow to pay his respects to Queen Elizabeth II, following her death last week at the age of 96.



Prince Mohammed bin Salman meeting with US president Joe Biden (EPA)

Although the report suggests that he will not take part in the late monarch's funeral – the guest list for which is chosen largely by the UK government – it would mark the crown prince's first visit to the UK since March 2018, six months before Khashoggi was murdered and allegedly dismembered at the Saudi embassy in Istanbul.

While the prince has insisted it was “obvious” he did not order the killing of the 59-year-old *Washington Post* journalist, calling it “the worst thing ever to happen to me”, an intelligence report published by US president Joe Biden's administration last February alleged he knew about and approved of the plan.

The slain journalist's fiancée, Hatice Cengiz – a Turkish activist and academic – and Abdullah Alaoudh, an exiled Saudi dissident working as research director of Dawn – a non-profit organisation founded by Khashoggi – were among those to voice their anger at the suggestion that he could visit London this weekend.

“The crown prince should not be allowed to be part of this mourning and not be allowed to stain her memory and use this time mourning to seek legitimacy and normalisation,” Ms



Cengiz told *The Guardian*, which also reported a source as confirming the Saudi royal's plans to visit London.



Hatice Cengiz, the fiancée of murdered Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi (AP)

Mr Alaoudh, whose father is a reformist cleric facing the death sentence in Saudi Arabia, warned that the visit would come at a time when the Saudi regime is cracking down “harsher and harder” on human rights defenders.

He alleged that the crown prince, commonly known as MBS, is “getting emboldened to travel the world after the Khashoggi matter as the result of the dedicated rehabilitation process – whether they call it this or not – of Western leaders”.

Agnes Callamard, the secretary general of Amnesty International, and Sayed Ahmed Alwadaei, of the Bahrain Institute for Rights and Democracy, also gave comments opposing a visit by MBS.

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# Will King Charles continue to speak his political mind?



Climate may become 'a source of personal interest but private anguish for the King' (Reuters)

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**ANDREW GRICE**

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Behind the cross-party unity over the Queen's death and pledges of loyalty to her successor, senior politicians across the spectrum ask themselves the same explosive question: will King Charles intervene in politics in the way he did as Prince of Wales?

On the face of it, the answer is: no. The King will have to end his public activism. As he admitted in his first address: "It will no



longer be possible for me to give so much of my time and energies to the charities and issues for which I care so deeply.”

Previously, he said he would not be so “stupid” as to meddle.

Some ministers profess confidence the King will resist temptation. They note he has made fewer speeches about the political and social causes close to his heart in recent years as he gradually assumed more of the Queen’s duties. Ministers do not expect him to make speeches without first clearing them with the government, so they reflect its policy; they do expect him to get any political opinions off his chest during Liz Truss’s weekly audience with him. That would be a far cry from the “black spider memos” – a reference to his handwriting – he fired off to ministers on a wide range of issues when he was dubbed the “prince of wails.”

Although the Tory right predictably sees him as “woke,” his views do not fit into one box. He made environmentalism more appealing to some wary Conservatives, but also opposed a ban on fox hunting and spoke out against modern architecture. He has several influential friends on the right, some of whom are dubbed “puffed-up, overprivileged, out-of-touch courtiers” by their critics.

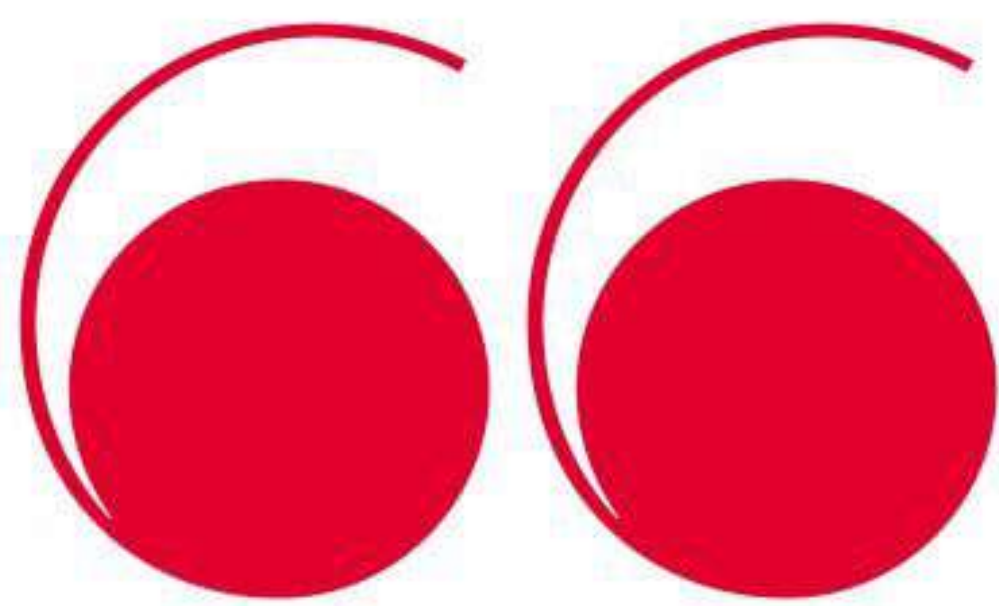
Some senior figures at Westminster fear privately the King’s views on his pet subjects might emerge into the public domain via garrulous friends who like to show they are in the know. This might have been how his recent criticism of the government’s “appalling” plan to send asylum seekers to Rwanda surfaced, rather than being a deliberate leak.

In contrast, the Queen and her inner circle were more discreet. Her public interventions were extremely rare, such as her plea for Scots to “think very carefully” before the 2014 referendum on independence.

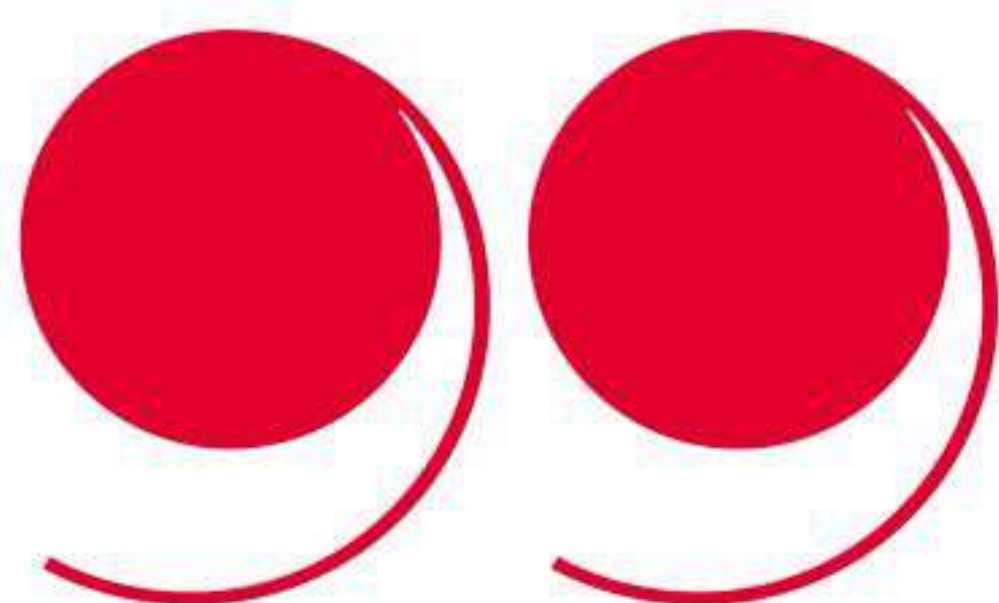
The Queen did gossip with senior ministers; one recalled a less than flattering quip about a former archbishop of Canterbury. But people rarely betrayed her confidences. It was the politicians who blabbed: David Cameron revealed the Queen “purred down the line” after the Scottish referendum result and Boris Johnson



disclosed to his staff the monarch told him on becoming prime minister: “I don’t know why anyone would want the job.”



**The most likely areas of discord between the King and the Truss government are the climate crisis and trade deals that might undercut UK farmers**



If it “emerged” that the King was unhappy about Truss’s decision to approve fracking – which would hardly be a surprise, given his track record – it would create tensions between him and Downing Street. It wouldn’t be the first time.

As Prince Charles, he was warned off by the Blair government when he was speaking out against GM crops and backed down. The message was relayed by Peter Mandelson, who became a candid friend of the future King. Very candid, as Mandelson’s memoirs disclosed.

After the death of the Princess of Wales, both Charles and his new partner were unpopular, but Mandelson told him (accurately) that the public would eventually accept Camilla if he did not “force the pace.” He also told him some people had “gained the impression you feel sorry for yourself, that you’re rather glum and dispirited”.

The most likely areas of discord between the King and the Truss government are the climate crisis – a cause he started to champion more than 50 years ago, long before it was fashionable – and trade deals that might undercut UK farmers.



A former cabinet minister told me that climate would now become “a source of personal interest but private anguish for the King. He won’t be able to go public on it.” There is speculation he will “pass the baton” to the new Prince of Wales, who is keen on conservationism.

One Whitehall insider said: “I don’t think William will use the baton as a stick to beat the government with.” Yet the environmental cause could bolster the monarchy’s appeal to younger people, among whom it is at its weakest.

Truss sounded a sceptical note about net zero as she pandered to Tory members during the leadership election. As prime minister, her signals have been mixed. The bad news is that Jacob Rees-Mogg is in charge of energy policy and Zac Goldsmith has been sacked as an environment minister. But Chris Skidmore, a strong supporter of net zero, is reviewing how the UK can hit the target for Truss.

Tory climate sceptics and their newspaper cheerleaders will not make it easy for the King to speak out on climate; if he does, they will doubtless warn him not to put the constitutional monarchy at risk by meddling in politics. However, the very survival of the planet surely justifies a break from tradition. Let’s hope that where there’s a will, there’s a way.

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# No 10 lifts fracking ban as experts warn of earthquakes



Activists from Extinction Rebellion stage an anti-fracking protest – the review was due to be published last week but was delayed following news of the Queen’s death (PA)

**SAPHORA SMITH**  
**ADAM FORREST**

The government is set to lift the ban on fracking despite a leaked scientific review that acknowledges that forecasting drilling-induced earthquakes “remains a scientific challenge”.



The key government-commissioned report by the British Geological Survey (BGS) includes little evidence that progress has been made in reducing and predicting the risk of fracking-induced earthquakes, *The Guardian* reports.

It also says there are still “significant existing knowledge gaps” when identifying sites that may be able to cope with magnitude 3 tremors.

A ban on fracking in England was announced in 2019 after a report by the Oil and Gas Authority (OGA) found it was not possible to accurately predict the probability or intensity of earthquakes linked to fracking operations. *The Independent* has not confirmed the contents of the BGS report.

The review of the science was due to be published last week in conjunction with Liz Truss’s announcement to reverse the ban but was delayed following news of the Queen’s death. The BGS report was commissioned in April by the former business secretary Kwasi Kwarteng, who is now chancellor.

Writing to the BGS, Mr Kwarteng asked it whether there had been new developments in the science of fracking, in particular techniques which could reduce the risk and magnitude of seismic events. The official written lifting of the ban on fracking – announced by Ms Truss last week – is expected to be published following the Queen’s funeral on Monday.

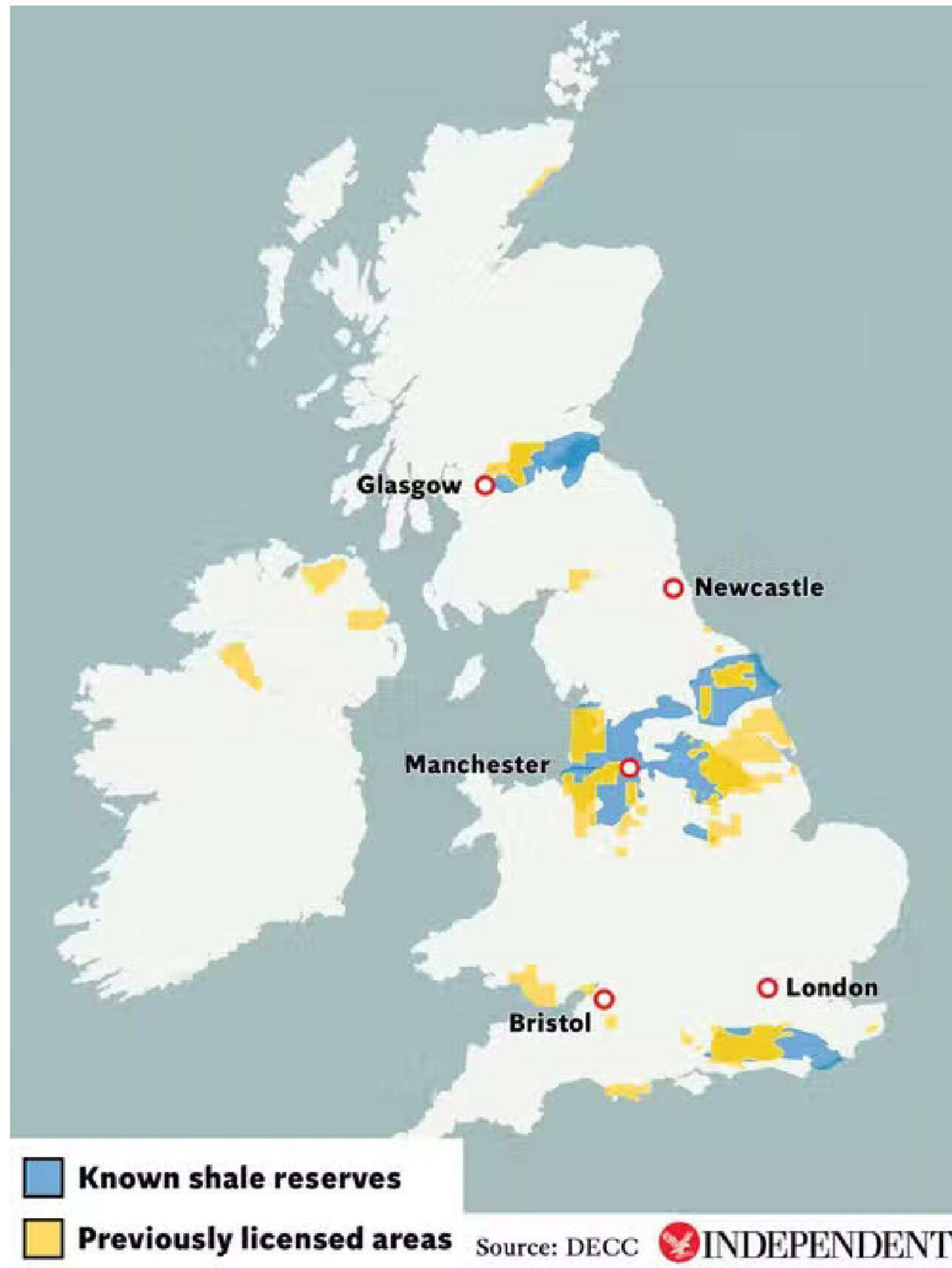
Green MP for Brighton Pavilion Caroline Lucas described the government’s fracking plan as “climate-wrecking, manifesto-breaking and earthquake regulation-shattering” in light of the recent report.

“Fracking is a dirty and dangerous distraction from the real solutions on offer – this shale gas must stay in the ground.” Greenpeace UK’s chief scientist said for the government to reverse its position on shale gas on the back of the report would simply be breaking a clear promise on which they were elected.

“They have no mandate from the voters or from the circumstances for such a change, and if they carry it through it would just mean we had an industry with lower standards of



safety, and a government with lower standards of integrity,” he said.



(The Independent)

Friends of the Earth energy campaigner Danny Gross said fracking was one of the least popular forms of energy generation in the UK. “Fracking will only have a negligible impact, if any, on soaring fuel bills,” he said. “Ministers should abandon shale gas extraction and focus instead on energy efficiency and onshore wind and solar – which are cheap, popular and quick to build.”

Andrew Aplin, an honorary professor in the department of earth sciences at Durham University, said in terms of the science it did not appear from the report that there is anything in there to suggest the government should change its mind on lifting the ban. “Our ability to predict the magnitude of fracking induced



earth tremors has not improved,” he said. Robin Teverson, a member of the House of Lords whose focus in the chamber includes the climate crisis, said he could see why people would be concerned about their properties considering there have reportedly been no further developments on predicting earthquakes.

As for lifting the ban on fracking more broadly, he said it risks “trashing our reputation as a climate change leader, particularly while we’re still president of Cop26”. “This is not a good move at the present moment,” he added. News of the contents of the long-awaited report comes after *The Independent* reported earlier this week that fracking firms were pushing for earthquake limits to be relaxed and planning permissions sped up in England.

The industry body told *The Independent* that lifting the moratorium will only kick start the industry if new rules are brought in to make fracking easier. A government spokesperson said it commissioned the BGS to advise on the latest scientific evidence on shale gas extraction.

“Making the most of our own gas resources makes us less dependent on imports and helps maintain the security of the UK’s energy supply in both the short and long term,” the spokesperson said.

“Drawing on lessons from around the world, we will make sure it is done as safely as possible and where there is local support.”

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# Dorset welcomes beavers after 400 years of extinction



The creatures were first reintroduced in Britain in 2019 (Getty/iStock)

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**FURVAH SHAH**

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Beavers have returned to Dorset after being extinct in the area for around 400 years. As a part of a conservation project, two adult beavers have been relocated from Scotland to an eight-acre woodland enclosure near the Mapperton estate in west Dorset. The male and female beavers were welcomed with a purpose-built lodge home and a feast of apples.



Ben Padwick, ranger and keeper at Mapperton, said: “It’s been very exciting preparing for the beavers to arrive. I have been busy clearing the old pheasant pen, creating dams, and even building them a home – and we are delighted to see them using it! We are looking forward to seeing their positive impact on the landscape and to giving guided tours around the enclosure to members of the public.



**Beavers are native to Britain but were hunted to extinction around four centuries ago (Getty/iStock)**

“It’s an incredible achievement for all the team and everyone involved with the project. Releasing a keystone species back here at Mapperton Wildlands is a huge milestone for us, especially as they have been absent from the landscape for such a long time.”

Beavers are a species that is native to Britain, but they were hunted to extinction around 400 years ago. The creatures were killed for their fur and their meat, and the oil from their castoreum glands was used for medicinal and cosmetic purposes. Beavers help to conserve landscapes and alleviate floods due to their natural dam-building skills.

In Devon, the animals were returned to the River Otter in 2008 as a part of a five-year study, which was proved to have been successful when the land where the beavers lived remained a



lush green while adjacent land turned a parched yellow during hot, dry weather conditions.



The animals' dam-making skills help to reduce flooding and conserve landscapes (Getty)

Viscount Hinchinbrooke, the owner of the Mapperton estate, said: “The arrival of beavers is a major milestone for our rewilding project, Mapperton Wildlands. They are such impressive animals, and within a few days have already got to work building dams and creating new wetland.

“And while we recognise that they can cause problems when not properly managed, our beavers are safely contained in a well-constructed enclosure. We really look forward to inviting visitors to come and see the positive impact they will have on the landscape over the coming months and years.”

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# Police watchdog to examine whether race was a factor in shooting of unarmed driver



Chris Kaba was shot dead after a police pursuit that ended in south London (Family handout/PA)

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**NADINE WHITE**

RACE CORRESPONDENT

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The police watchdog will examine whether race was a factor in the fatal shooting of an unarmed Black man by armed officers, as a national day of protests is due to take place.

Chris Kaba was shot dead following a police pursuit that ended in Streatham Hill, south London, on 5 September. The Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) launched an investigation into the circumstances surrounding Mr Kaba's death and enquiries remain ongoing – though the victim's family have accused the watchdog of “lacking urgency”.

“We must explore all of the circumstances surrounding Mr Kaba's death including: how the officers came to be aware of the vehicle Mr Kaba was driving; if they had any prior knowledge of Mr Kaba; and their decision-making and actions on the 5 September,” the IOPC said in a statement yesterday. “We will also examine whether or not Mr Kaba's race influenced any actions taken by the police.”

The victim's family have called for a national day of action across the UK today, with peaceful demonstrations set to take place in London, Manchester, Cardiff, Brighton and Warwick, among other locations.

The Met Police firearms officer who fatally shot 24-year-old Mr Kaba was suspended from duty on Monday, a week after the shooting, following public pressure and requests from MPs. This reportedly led to the officer's “angry” colleagues threatening to hand in their weapons in protest.

The IOPC said it had been in contact with Mr Kaba's family regarding the investigation and confirmed it is expected to take between six and nine months to complete. Separately, a coroner's inquest into the death will be opened on 4 October.

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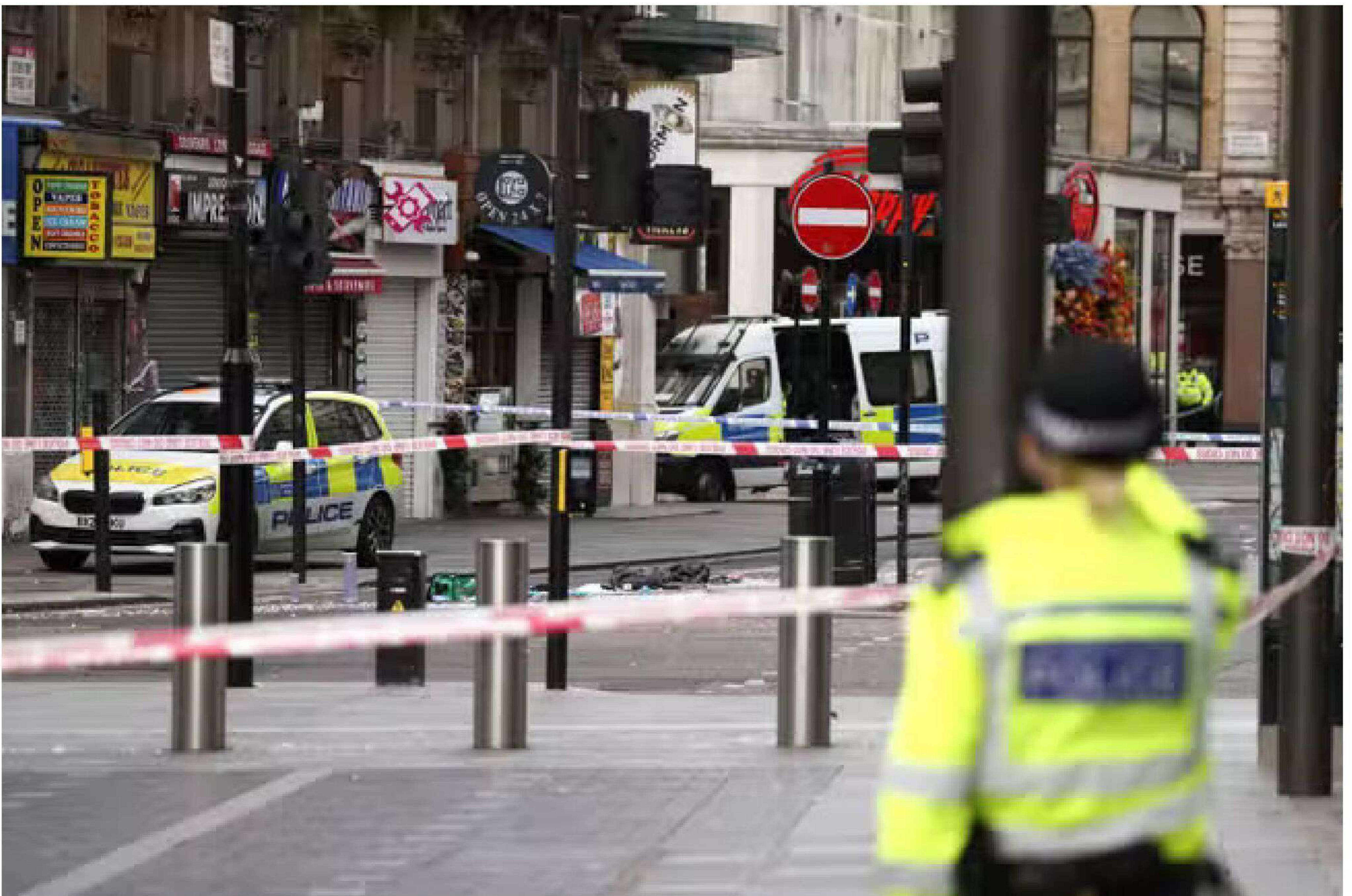
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# Two officers stabbed in central London attack



The policeman and policewoman were assaulted in the Haymarket area of Westminster (Reuters)

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**THOMAS KINGSLEY**

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Two police officers were stabbed in Leicester Square in the early hours of yesterday, with one suffering a “life-changing” injury.

The Metropolitan Police said a young female police officer suffered a serious stab wound to her arm which may be life-changing while her male colleague was stabbed three times in the neck and once in the chest, but should make a full recovery.



Much of London's West End was cordoned off following the attack at around 6am. Crime scene investigators could be seen working outside a Shake Shack burger restaurant, located opposite the M&M's World shop in Leicester Square.

The cordon meant nearby West End theatres such as the Lyric were inaccessible for a while as police vans parked at Piccadilly Circus blocked motorists from driving down Shaftesbury Avenue.

Guests at the nearby Thistle Trafalgar Square hotel on Whitcomb Street were told by police they would be unable to return to their rooms today if they ventured beyond the cordon.

Home secretary Suella Braverman said she is “concerned” about the stabbings. “Every day we are safer thanks to the bravery of our policemen and women. I wish the police officers a swift recovery and my thoughts are with their family, friends and colleagues,” Ms Braverman said in a tweet.

The Metropolitan Police added that the situation is not being treated as terror-related and the families of the two officers are aware.

In a media briefing following the stabbing, Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) deputy assistant commissioner Stuart Cundy said a knife has been recovered from the scene and an investigation is underway.

London Mayor Sadiq Khan condemned the attack and called for anyone with information about the incident to contact police.

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# Dozens of ministerial posts could remain unfilled after mourning period extended



King Charles has announced a further week-long royal mourning period (PA)

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**ROB MERRICK**

DEPUTY POLITICAL EDITOR

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Dozens of ministerial posts may remain vacant for another 10 days despite the mourning period ending after the Queen's funeral on Monday, Downing Street has admitted.



The problem has emerged because King Charles has announced a further week-long royal mourning period – and ministerial appointments are made, officially, by the monarch.

The prime minister's office is now scrambling to work out if it is able to fill the posts – put at 55 by one count, which No 10 disputes – next week or be forced to wait until the following week.

Asked when the posts will be filled, a No 10 spokesperson said: “We will update on the next steps as soon as we can”.

Officially, Liz Truss's reshuffle is “paused”, although Zac Goldsmith revealed he has been sacked from his environment brief, while remaining a Foreign Office minister.

Meanwhile, the new prime minister is preparing for a blizzard of behind-the-scenes diplomacy ahead of the funeral, meeting six world leaders over the weekend.

As expected, she will hold talks with Joe Biden, as well as the leaders of Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Poland – but not France or Germany.

It is thought that a first meeting with Emmanuel Macron – who has made clear his hopes of healing UK-French relations, with the departure of Boris Johnson – will take place in New York next week.

Today Ms Truss will meet Anthony Albanese, the prime minister of Australia, and Jacinda Ardern, his counterpart in New Zealand, at the Chevening country residence.

Tomorrow she will meet Irish taoiseach Micheal Martin, Canada's prime minister Justin Trudeau, the Polish president Andrzej Duda and Mr Biden, the US president, in Downing Street.

China's official delegation has been barred from attending the Queen's lying in state ahead of the state funeral – after its controversial invitation to the funeral itself.

Lindsay Hoyle, the Commons speaker, has prevented them entering Westminster Hall because seven MPs and peers who



have attacked China's "genocide" of Uighur Muslims remain sanctioned by Beijing.

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# Dairy-free yoghurt maker trusted suppliers, court told



Andy Marsh with his wife Celia, who died after eating a vegan flatbread bought from a Pret a Manger store (PA)

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**MARYAM ZAKIR-HUSSAIN**

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The manufacturer of a dairy-free yoghurt used in a Pret a Manger vegan wrap has spoken of her regret at trusting others involved in the production process, an inquest heard yesterday.



Bethany Eaton, managing director of Planet Coconut, broke down in tears as she gave evidence at the inquest of Celia Marsh.

Marsh, 42, suffered a fatal allergic reaction on 27 December 2017, shortly after eating a super-veg rainbow flatbread from Pret a Manger.

March, a mother of five and dental nurse, from Melksham, Wiltshire, had a severe dairy allergy and collapsed in the street after eating the sandwich bought from the chain's store in Bath.

She had been on a post-Christmas shopping trip with her husband and three of her daughters at the time.

Avon Coroner's Court has heard the yoghurt was produced by Planet Coconut, which is the UK manufacturer and distributor of products developed by Australia-based yoghurt company CoYo.

Ms Eaton told the hearing she had set up Planet Coconut with her husband in 2011 to manufacture dairy-free products and purchased a licence from CoYo founder Henry Gosling for exclusive UK rights.

The court heard that Planet Coconut yoghurt contained few ingredients – primarily coconut cream and starch supplied by Tate & Lyle. The starch was identified as the possible source of the contamination.

Ms Eaton said: "Dairy-free is something I am passionate about which is why we bought the CoYo licence. I didn't ever dream it would contain dairy after he [Henry Gosling] sold me a licence.

"He said it was made in an allergen-free environment. He had a very good relationship with Tate & Lyle. That was the reassurance he gave me and I respected that."

Maria Voisin, the senior coroner for Avon, asked Ms Eaton whether she considered testing the starch.

She replied: "We never tested the product because I was assured and believed it was being made in an allergen-free environment.



I was told there was a separate line or facility that was entirely allergen-free and that's what we relied upon."

The witness said that since Marsh's death all products are now tested, irrespective of the source. "I had a dairy-free facility and I had ingredients that I believed were dairy-free from the assurances I was given," she said.

"I did not believe our product contained dairy. He sold me a licence for a dairy-free yoghurt and I had to buy the product from him. He was very protective of his product and rightly or wrongly I respected that. I did not believe that Henry and Tate & Lyle would produce a product that contained dairy in it. We all believed there was no risk because it was made in an allergy-free environment."

Fighting back tears, she added: "I am a bit angry and upset about this. I didn't just rely on his word, I relied on the fact that I had been sold a licence for a dairy-free product and it has been manufactured by Tate & Lyle with CoYo and created a very popular dairy-free yoghurt product in Australia.

"I regret buying a licence and trusting the word of someone else and that's what I regret. I regret that the inquiries I made were not with Henry Gosling and I relied upon his assurances and that's my regret."

The inquest also heard from Guy Meakin, interim managing director of Pret a Manger, who expressed his "extreme sorrow" to the family of Marsh for their loss.

"If we had known it had contained milk products we would never have used it," he said.

He said all products were now labelled with ingredients and Pret had introduced allergen risk assessments.

Marsh's death came in the wake of that of 15-year-old Natasha Ednan-Laperouse, who died in 2016 after eating a Pret baguette containing sesame seeds. Ednan-Laperouse had a sesame allergy.

The death sparked an overhaul of food labelling laws. Retailers are now required to display full ingredient and allergen labelling



on every food item made on the premises and pre-packed for direct sale, including sandwiches, cakes and salads.

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# Starmer 'Beergate' probe cost the police £100,000



The Labour leader was cleared of wrongdoing in July after a two-month investigation (PA)

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**ADAM FORREST**

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The police investigation into whether Labour leader Sir Keir Starmer broke Covid lockdown rules during the so-called Beergate saga cost just over £100,000, it has emerged.

Sir Keir and his deputy Angela Rayner were cleared of any wrongdoing by Durham Constabulary in July following a two-



month probe into a gathering at which beer and curry were consumed.

The investigation cost the force £101,000 and took around 3,203 hours of police work, the Durham force told the *National World* following a freedom of information request.

Nine detectives and other staff from the constabulary's major crime team were involved the lengthy investigation into an alleged breach of Covid laws, the response also revealed.

The probe was launched in May after top Conservatives pressed the force to investigate photos of Sir Keir enjoying a beer and Indian takeaway at a Labour office in Durham in April 2021.

But Labour argued that Sir Keir, Ms Rayner and staffers having a meal while campaigning for the local elections was allowed, insisting that none of the regional tier 2 rules in place at the time were broken.

In July, Durham police announced that there was "no case to answer for a contravention of the regulations" because the gathering was "reasonably necessary work".

Richard Holden, the Tory MP for North West Durham, was accused of wasting police time at the conclusion of the probe after he had campaigned for an official investigation.

Sir Keir and Ms Rayner had pledged to resign if they received fines in relation to the gathering in the offices of a local Labour MP Mary Foy.

Ms Foy said in July that it was "unfortunate that the desire of some Conservative politicians to score political points has led to so much of Durham Police's time being focused on a matter that was already investigated".

Northumbria police and crime commissioner Kim McGuinness said: "They threw muck and hoped it would stick. But instead, Richard [Holden]'s plan backfired."

The Labour leader said in July that he "really hated" being subjected to criminal investigation. "I'm not like other people in



many respects, who may say, well, it doesn't really matter ... it really meant a lot to me."

Durham Police said it does not have an estimated cost or number of hours spent on the investigation in Dominic Cummings's trip to Barnard Castle in March 2020.

The constabulary concluded there may have been a "minor breach" of the regulations, but did not take any action against the former No 10 adviser.

But the force did reveal that one detective chief superintendent probed the matter, with the assistance of four more detectives who continued to perform other duties.

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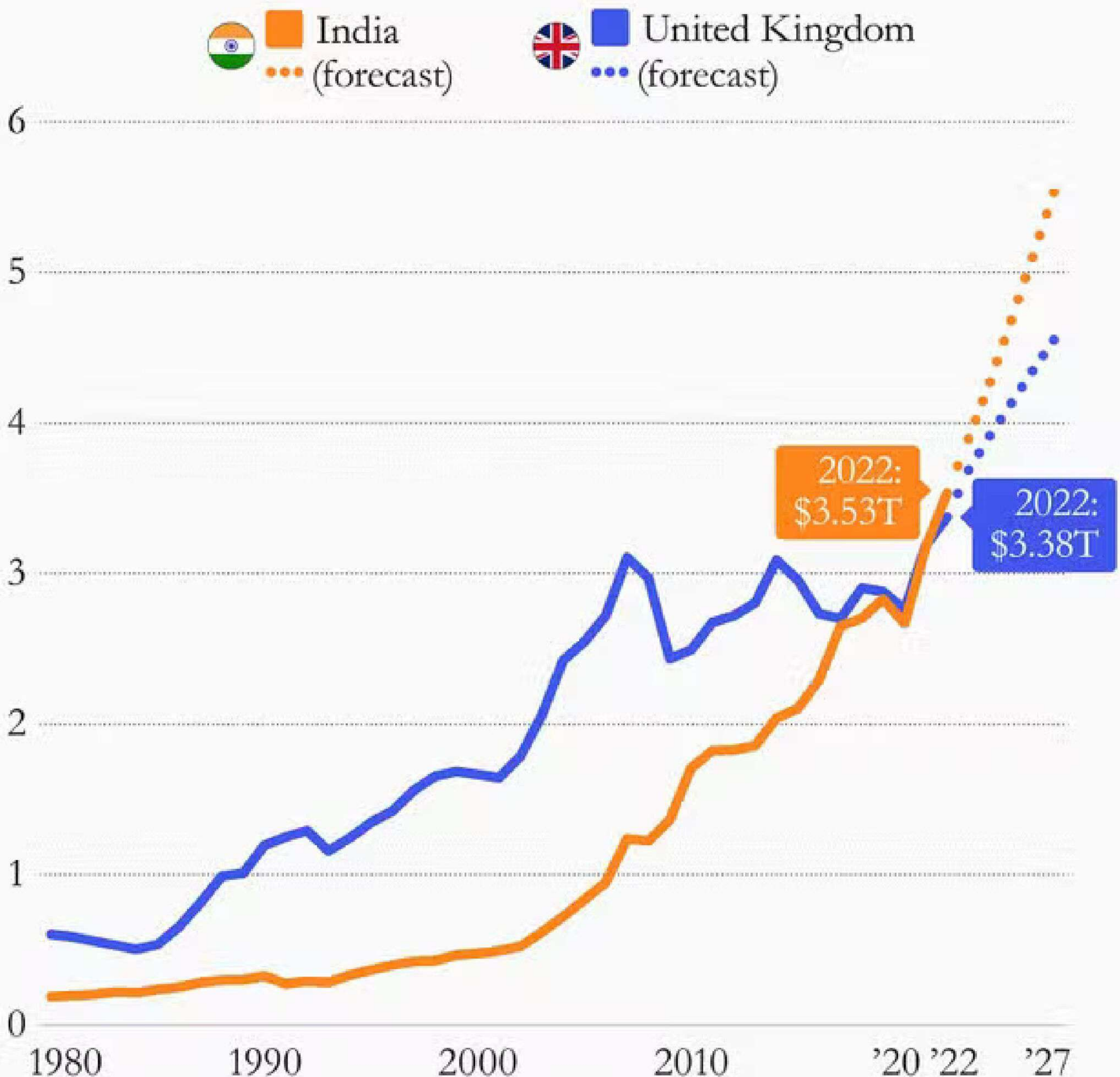
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# By Numbers Eastern rising

GDP of India and the United Kingdom (in trillion US dollars)\*



\* in current prices

Source: International Monetary Fund





# Pictures of the Day



## Smoke 'em out

An All Nepal Pest Control worker sprays insecticide to kill mosquitoes and prevent an outbreak of dengue fever in Kathmandu. *EPA*





### **High priest**

A Sufi devotee smokes marijuana during the Urs religious festival at the Data Darbar, the shrine of Sufi saint Syed Ali bin Osman Al-Hajvery, in Lahore, Pakistan. *AFP/Getty*



### **‘Fancy a swim?’**

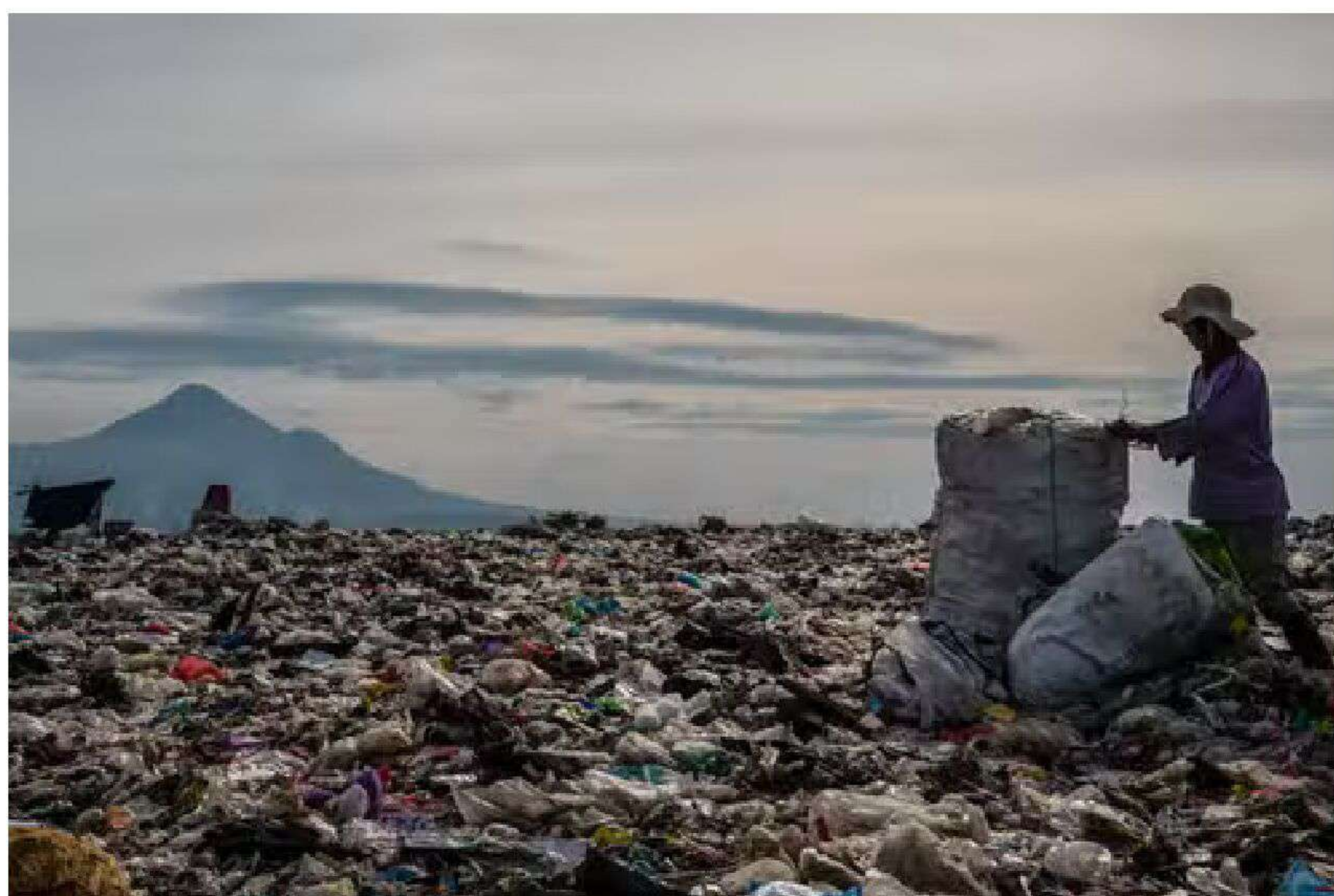
Newly hatched sea turtles make their way into the sea after leaving a conservation centre in Kuta, Bali, Indonesia. *EPA*





### **Divided flock**

Four hundred sheep, each marked with either “Yes” or “No”, gather under the Aqueduct of Segovia, in Spain, as part of the world art and science project “Everything is connected” by British artist Kate Daudy and Nobel prize-winning physicist Konstantin Novoselov. *EPA*



### **Waste not, want not**

A ragpicker collects recyclable materials at a landfill in Sidoarjo, Indonesia. *AFP*

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# Home news in brief



Alex Belfield arrives at Nottingham Crown Court last month where he was convicted of four stalking charges (PA)

## Former BBC DJ jailed for stalking

A former BBC local radio DJ has been jailed for five-and-a-half years for stalking broadcasters including Jeremy Vine, who was subjected to an “avalanche of hatred”. Alex Belfield waged a relentless stalking campaign against the journalists, with Vine labelling him “the Jimmy Savile of trolling” after he repeatedly posted or sent abusive messages, videos and emails.

Belfield, 42, was convicted at Nottingham Crown Court in a trial last month of four stalking charges, committed between 2012



and last year. Sentencing judge, Mr Justice Saini, told Belfield, who was seated in the court dock taking notes: “Your offences are so serious, only a custodial sentence can be justified.”

### **Warning over looming deadline to exchange old banknotes**

The Bank of England has warned the deadline to exchange old £20 and £50 notes is fast approaching. People have until the end of the month, 30 September, to use the paper Bank of England (BoE) £20 and £50 notes before they no longer have legal tender status. The BoE warned that people will face long queues to exchange the notes, which will then go out of circulation.

Most of the £20 and £50 notes have already been replaced with polymer versions, said to be less vulnerable to fraud. The new £50 note was unveiled by BoE governor Andrew Bailey in March 2021 and features the renowned scientist, Alan Turing. The note entered circulation on the scientist’s birthday on 23 June 2021.

### **Train drivers to strike in early October**

Millions of rail passengers face having their travel plans wrecked by two more strikes by train drivers next month. *The Independent* understands that the train drivers’ union, Aslef, has given notice to 12 train operators that members will walk out on Saturday 1 and Wednesday 5 October. The union, which called off a strike due on 15 September immediately after the death of the Queen, is understood not to be making any comment until Tuesday – the day after the state funeral.

Half of the dozen train operators are key intercity operators: Avanti West Coast, CrossCountry, GWR, Hull Trains, LNER and TransPennine Express. In addition, six mainly commuter firms will be affected: Chiltern, Greater Anglia, London Overground, Northern, Southeastern and West Midlands Trains.



## **Barrister who raped woman he met on Tinder jailed**

A barrister who laughed after forcing himself on his Tinder date has been jailed for four years for rape. Robin Jacobs, 39, reacted angrily and shouted from the dock “I didn’t do it” after he was found guilty following a retrial at the Old Bailey on Thursday. The court heard how Jacobs told the woman to “hold steady” before unexpectedly initiating anal sex in September 2017. The woman claimed she twice told Jacobs to stop and screamed “get out” before he moved away after 20 to 30 seconds.

Afterwards, Jacobs muttered to himself that he “shouldn’t laugh” before giving an involuntary chuckle, jurors heard. Jacobs, from South Woodford, east London, disputed the woman’s account and denied he engaged in the sex act without having a reasonable belief that she consented to it. A jury at the Old Bailey deliberated for four hours and 47 minutes to find him guilty of rape by a majority of 10 to two.

## **Broadcasting world celebrates Turnbull’s life at funeral**

BBC broadcasters including Sian Williams, Charlie Stayt, Susanna Reid and Naga Munchetty were among those celebrating the life and legacy of Bill Turnbull at his funeral. The former BBC *Breakfast* presenter died on 3 August at the age of 66 after a “challenging and committed fight against prostate cancer”, which was diagnosed in November 2017.

Family and close friends, including his BBC *Breakfast* co-hosts, attended a private ceremony at Holy Trinity church in Blythburgh, Suffolk, yesterday afternoon. Williams, who anchored BBC *Breakfast* with Turnbull for more than a decade, told the PA news agency: “I think it is a day of sadness and reflection, and I hope sometime today there will also be time to celebrate his life because he was a great friend and a great man.”

## **Pet owner issues warning after spate of cat deaths**

Cat owners in Heswall and Gayton in the Wirral are being advised to keep their pets indoors after a spate of poisonings has



left three dead in less than a week. The cats, who all lived in the Downham Road and Milner Lane area, all died of antifreeze poisoning, in identical circumstances. “Our cat only had the symptoms of eating something wrong – lethargic, loss of appetite – but rather than recovering from these symptoms, became less and less responsive,” one bereaved owner told the *Wirral Globe*. “By the time we took action, it was too late for the vet to help.”

They warned: “If your cat is in this area and starts displaying these symptoms, it might be worthwhile to get them checked by a vet. We don’t at this stage know if it is accidental – a spillage – or anything more sinister, but three cats in a few days is a bit much,” they added. According to the RSPCA, most people are unaware of the danger to pets from antifreeze poisoning. Consuming even the smallest amount can cause kidney failure and death, especially in cats.

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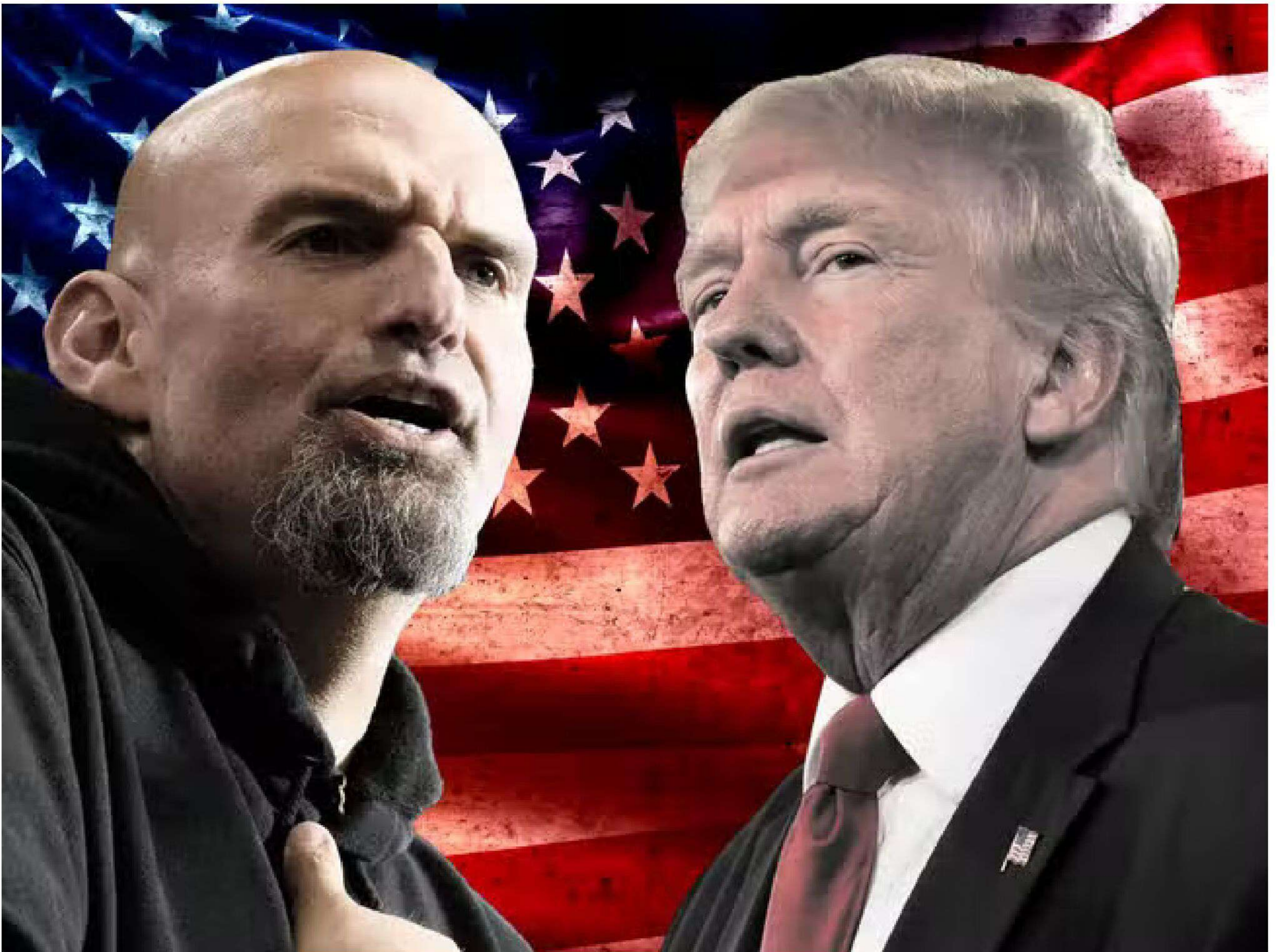
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# Fetterman making gains in Trump country for Senate

The Democrat nominee is hoping to chip away at Trump's support in Pennsylvania, reports **Richard Hall** in Johnstown



Fetterman's campaign believes he can appeal to working-class voters who supported Trump in the 2016 and 2020 elections (Getty/iStock)

In the rural parts of western Pennsylvania – which is most of western Pennsylvania – the electoral map runs deep red. Donald Trump's arrival on the national political stage and his shock



victory in 2016 hastened a Democratic decline that had been in motion for years across this once booming industrial region.

But a new candidate running to represent the state in the Senate is testing the notion that Democrats need not apply out here.

John Fetterman, a Democrat who has made his home in Braddock, just outside of Pittsburgh, is searching for votes in what he calls the “ruby red” counties across the state.

“Bringing our message to places where it’s not always popular is our secret weapon to win in this tough cycle,” he said in a recent tweet. It’s a strategy borne of optimism, but it also speaks to the campaign’s belief that Fetterman can appeal to working-class voters that have eluded Democrats for some years now.

Johnstown, a once-booming steel town in western Pennsylvania and a regular stop on the campaign trail for presidential candidates, is as good a place as any to test the theory. Both Trump and Joe Biden came here in 2020 to rally support and Fetterman, who lives just an hour away, introduced Biden to a crowd of supporters as he spoke outside Johnstown’s Amtrak station. “Fetterman, he was mayor of Braddock, came from nowhere and really worked hard for his little town, which is very similar to Johnstown. He really cared about it,” says 28-year-old Taylor Clarke, who works in his family’s men’s clothing store in the town.

“You see him all over, even in Trump country, in smaller counties that have virtually no people in them, in the middle of the state, you see him everywhere – he’s there,” he adds. As Pennsylvania’s lieutenant governor, Fetterman visited all of the state’s 67 counties as part of a listening tour about marijuana legalisation. Since announcing his run for Senate, he has campaigned on the slogan “Every County, Every Vote” – making a point to reach voters in places where history suggests a Democrat wouldn’t stand a chance of winning.

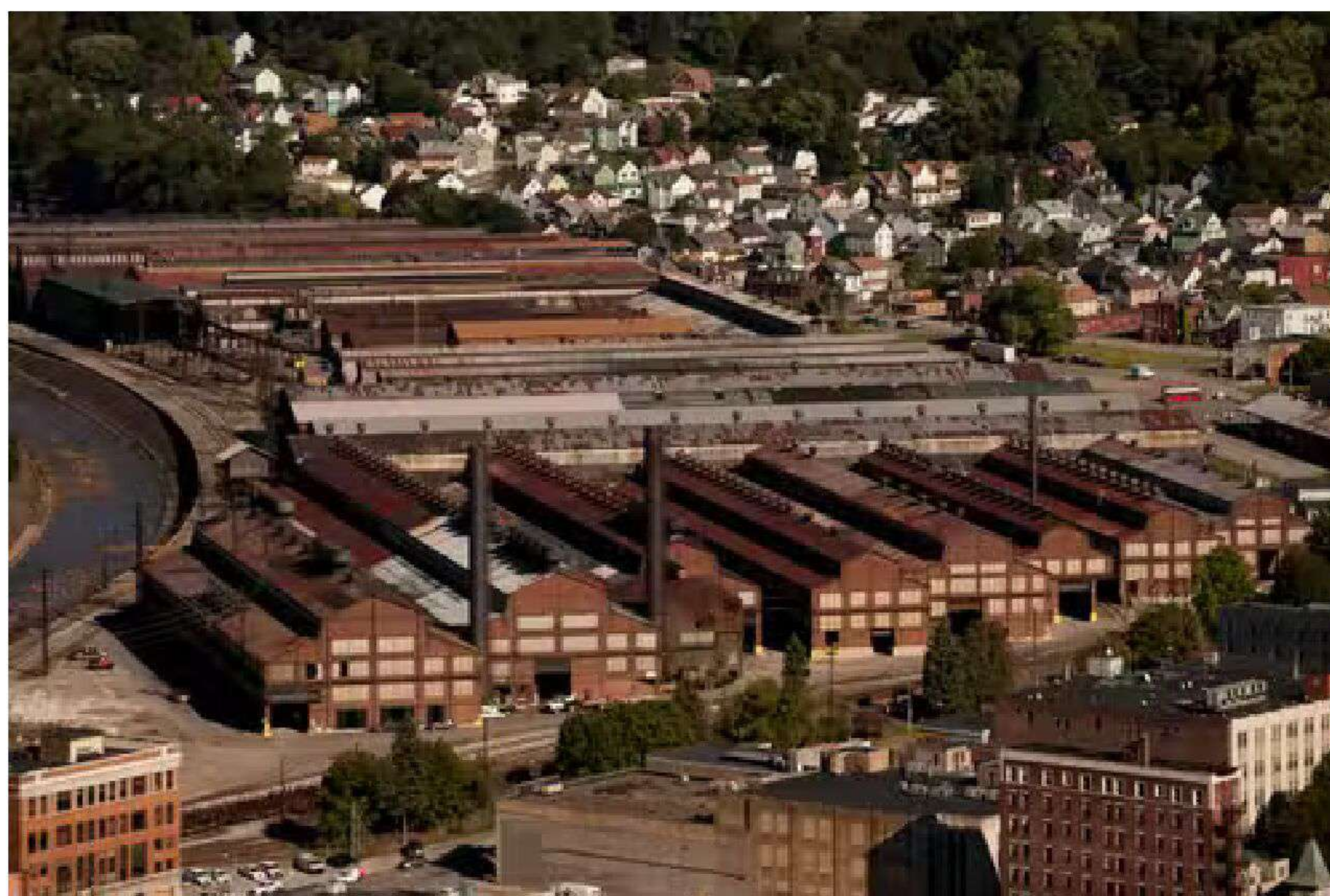
His strategy paid off in the primary: Fetterman beat his opponent in all 67 counties. And current polls show an average lead of more than six points for Fetterman over his opponent Dr Oz. Those numbers may hint that he has convinced at



least some Trump supporters to join his cause. In 2016, Trump became the first Republican to win Pennsylvania since 1988, winning the state by just 44,292 votes. He did so by running up the numbers in the rural parts of the state, which have been growing more Republican for some years.

In Cambria County, where Johnstown is located, Trump won 68 per cent of the vote, compared to Biden's 30 per cent – roughly the same margin by which he beat Hillary Clinton in 2016.

Trump's promises to revive American industry resonated with the former coal and steel towns across rural Pennsylvania. Years of mine closures and the accompanying collapse of union strength, together with promises by Democrats to turn away from fossil fuels, all contributed to Trump's success here.



Johnstown, Pennsylvania, is one of the towns Fetterman is targeting (Getty)

There was another factor, too. Trump hit the road across the state, visiting the small towns and once-prosperous industrial hubs often overlooked by presidential campaigns. As noted by *PoliticsPA*, “he visited Scranton, Mechanicsburg, Hershey, Valley Forge, Gettysburg, Newtown, Johnstown, Manheim, Erie and Altoona among other places.”

Ironically, it was John Fetterman – then mayor of Braddock – who was among the first Democrats to raise the alarm about Trump's appeal in Pennsylvania. He recalled in an interview with *PennLive* how he had warned Clinton's campaign about Trump's moves.



“I’ll never forget when I read the press release that Donald Trump was going to have a campaign event in Monessen (a struggling steel town near Braddock),” Fetterman told *PennLive*. “I was a proud surrogate for the Clinton campaign during that time and I just called up the campaign and was like, ‘Either (the Trump campaign) has completely lost its mind or they know something we don’t.’”

He told the outlet that he tried to attend the rally to “take in this phenomenon,” but was recognised and turned away. Fetterman had already moved to the former steel town of Braddock, just outside of Pittsburgh, before Trump came along. During his 13 years as mayor, he tried to revive the town’s fortunes by launching community projects and repurposing old buildings. He was urging national politicians to do more to help the left-behind towns across America’s former industrial heartlands.

His efforts in Braddock may go some way to explaining why current polls show him with such a convincing lead. But they don’t explain it all. Taylor Clark, the Johnstown tailor, says part of Fetterman’s appeal is his everyman persona. Fetterman, who is 6ft 8in with tattooed arms, and often seen wearing shorts at official events, does not speak with the same guarded diplomatic language of a politician.

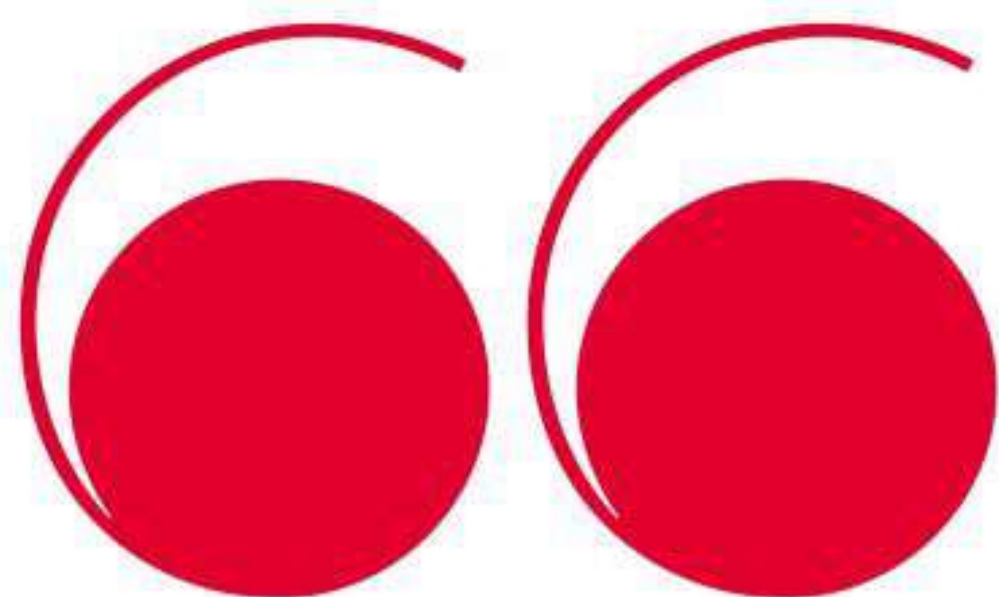
“Fetterman is not an elitist. Is he richer than most of us? Yeah, sure. But he doesn’t look like that. He doesn’t come off that way at all. He really comes off as a guy of people,” he says. “He has this blue-collar, steel worker mentality that we have here, Pittsburgh, even Philadelphia back in the day.”

“The only thing I don’t like about him is he doesn’t wear suits,” adds Clark, an apprentice tailor, standing in the middle of his suit store. Taylor is currently learning the family business from his father, Randy Clark, a master tailor and owner of the clothing store, Millers of Johnstown. The father and son are partners in business, but they disagree on politics.

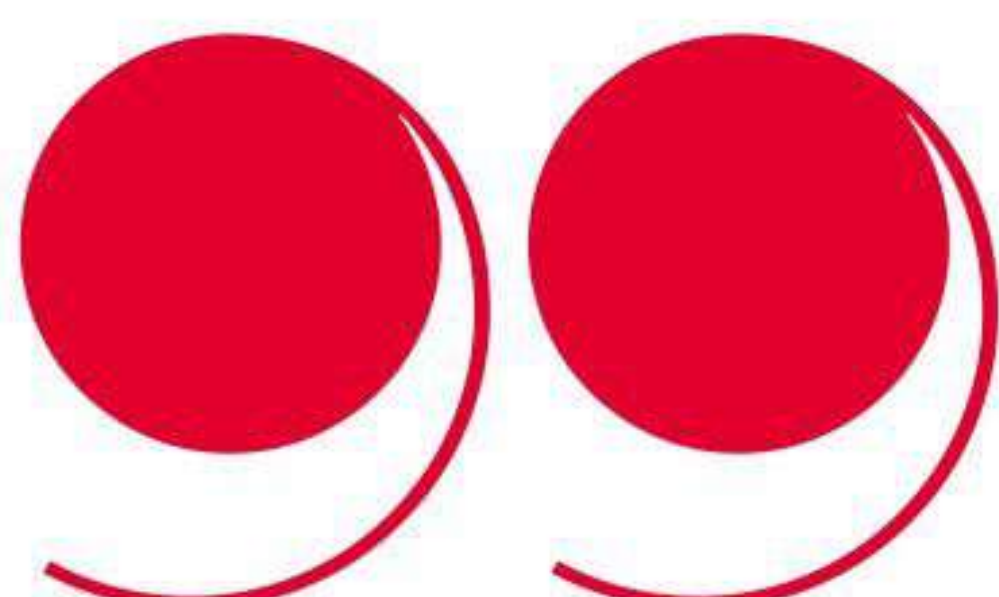
“The thing about it is, of course, it’s Republican against Democrats, and I espouse a conservative viewpoint in regards to a lot of things in politics,” Randy says. “I think he leans almost to



a socialist, semi communist type of viewpoint, and he endorsed Bernie Sanders in the election two years ago,” he says. “And he’s totally against fracking, which is billions and billions of dollars of revenue for the state of Pennsylvania.”



**Only 36 per cent of Republicans were glad Dr Oz is the party’s nominee, according to a CBS/YouGov poll, with 64 per cent answering that they would have preferred someone else**



Even though Randy will not vote for Fetterman – “I wouldn’t vote for the man if he was the last guy to vote for, I just wouldn’t do it,” he says – he hints at another factor that is helping Fetterman build his convincing lead: Republican disappointment with Dr Oz as a candidate.

“I don’t believe that Oz is the ideal candidate, and I know that he has been chastised for coming to Pennsylvania and setting up residence – nothing that other people hasn’t done, including Hillary Clinton in New York,” he says. Polls suggest he is not alone among Republicans who are less than thrilled about Dr Oz’s candidacy. One recent poll showed a significant enthusiasm gap between the two candidates in their own parties, and among independents. Only 36 per cent of Republicans were glad Dr Oz is the party’s nominee, according to a CBS/YouGov poll, with 64 per cent answering that they would have preferred someone else. Among independents, only 23 per cent are glad Dr Oz is the nominee, and 77 per cent would have preferred someone



else. Compare that to Fetterman's numbers: 77 per cent of Democrats are glad he is the nominee.

Michael Cashaw, a Johnstown resident who ran an unsuccessful primary campaign to represent the Democrat Party in the 72nd District of Pennsylvania's House of Representatives, has seen Fetterman in action on the campaign trail. He thinks Fetterman is ahead not just due to Dr Oz being a bad candidate, but that Fetterman appeals to working-class voters who value authenticity.

"He's a very genuine guy. He's not actually a Hell's Angel – even that's what he looks like," Cashaw says. "I do a lot of travelling around Pennsylvania, and from my travels around, if Fetterman does not win, I will be stunned," he adds. "Even out in eastern Pennsylvania they are making fun of him out there. In Pittsburgh, they are making a joke of him out there. Even where my wife's family comes from, which is a very conservative area called Chambersburg, there's a lot of Fetterman signs out there."

For Taylor, the tailor, there are a long list of reasons to vote for Fetterman, rather than just against Dr Oz. "I love his stance on marijuana legalisation, I love his stance on gay marriage, I love his inclusiveness. And the one thing that I absolutely adore about him is what my dad mentioned about fracking – he's against it. I always have been; I did a report my senior year of college on it, how it has affected so many hundreds of thousands of people," he says.

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# Trump tried to get AT&T to sell CNN to rival Murdoch



The telecoms company's CEO 'viewed it as crude, almost mob-style extortion' on the part of the media mogul and the president, according to new book 'The Divider' (Reuters)

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**ANDREW FEINBERG**

IN WASHINGTON DC

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Former president Donald Trump and his aides pushed for AT&T to sell CNN to Fox News owner Rupert Murdoch while threatening to block the telecommunications company's merger with Time Warner, according to a new book.



AT&T was approached twice with an offer to sell the news channel, which Mr Trump viewed as hostile, according to a pre-release copy of Peter Baker and Susan Glasser's *The Divider* that *The Independent* obtained ahead of its 20 September publication date.

The authors report how Mr Trump summoned AT&T CEO Randall Stephenson to his Trump Tower office just after his 2016 election victory and complained about the then CNN boss Jeff Zucker, calling him “a bad guy” while also bragging that he’d “got” Mr Zucker his position.

Mr Stephenson reportedly left the meeting believing Mr Trump was a threat to the merger, and in the subsequent weeks AT&T would donate to the Trump inauguration fund and hire Michael Cohen, Mr Trump's attorney at the time, as an adviser (the latter of which Mr Stephenson later called “a big mistake”).

The first call from Mr Murdoch came in May 2017, five months after Mr Trump was sworn in as president.

The Fox founder asked Mr Stephenson: “How's the deal going?” He then said he'd “be happy to buy CNN from you” if doing so “would help get the deal done”.

Mr Stephenson replied: “Rupert, I'm not interested in selling”. But the Australian-born mogul would telephone a second time three months later, on the heels of a White House dinner with Mr Trump, his son-in-law turned adviser Jared Kushner, and the then White House chief of staff John Kelly.

The AT&T CEO again rebuffed Mr Murdoch's offer.

Baker and Glasser report that AT&T believed the calls to be “an implicit quid pro quo” in which Mr Trump would not push the government to block the merger if AT&T would divest its news channel to the owner of a competitor whose network was closely allied with the then president.

They add that executives “viewed it as crude, almost mob-style extortion”.



One AT&T executive told them Mr Stephenson was “totally beyond pissed” over the Murdoch overtures and implied shakedown.

“He just felt that this was the most outrageous abuse of power that he’d ever seen.”

Ultimately, the Justice Department sued to block the merger, but a federal judge threw out the lawsuit.

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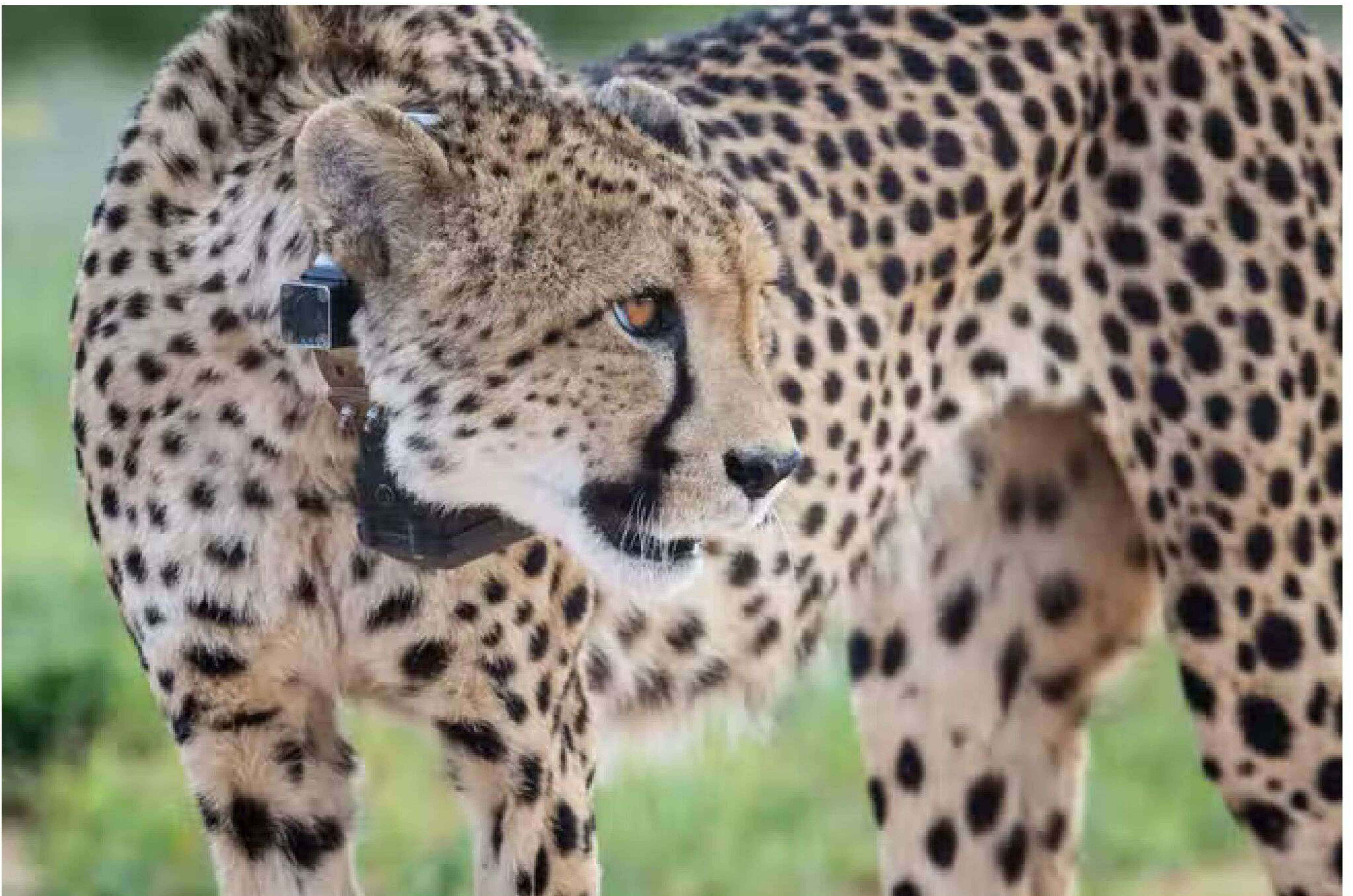
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# India takes historic gamble on cheetahs entering wild



A total of eight cheetahs are being flown down from Namibia to central India's Kuno national park (Cheetah Conservation Fund)

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**ARPAN RAI**

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Eight Namibian cheetahs are travelling across continents as part of a historic and controversial attempt to reintroduce them to India.

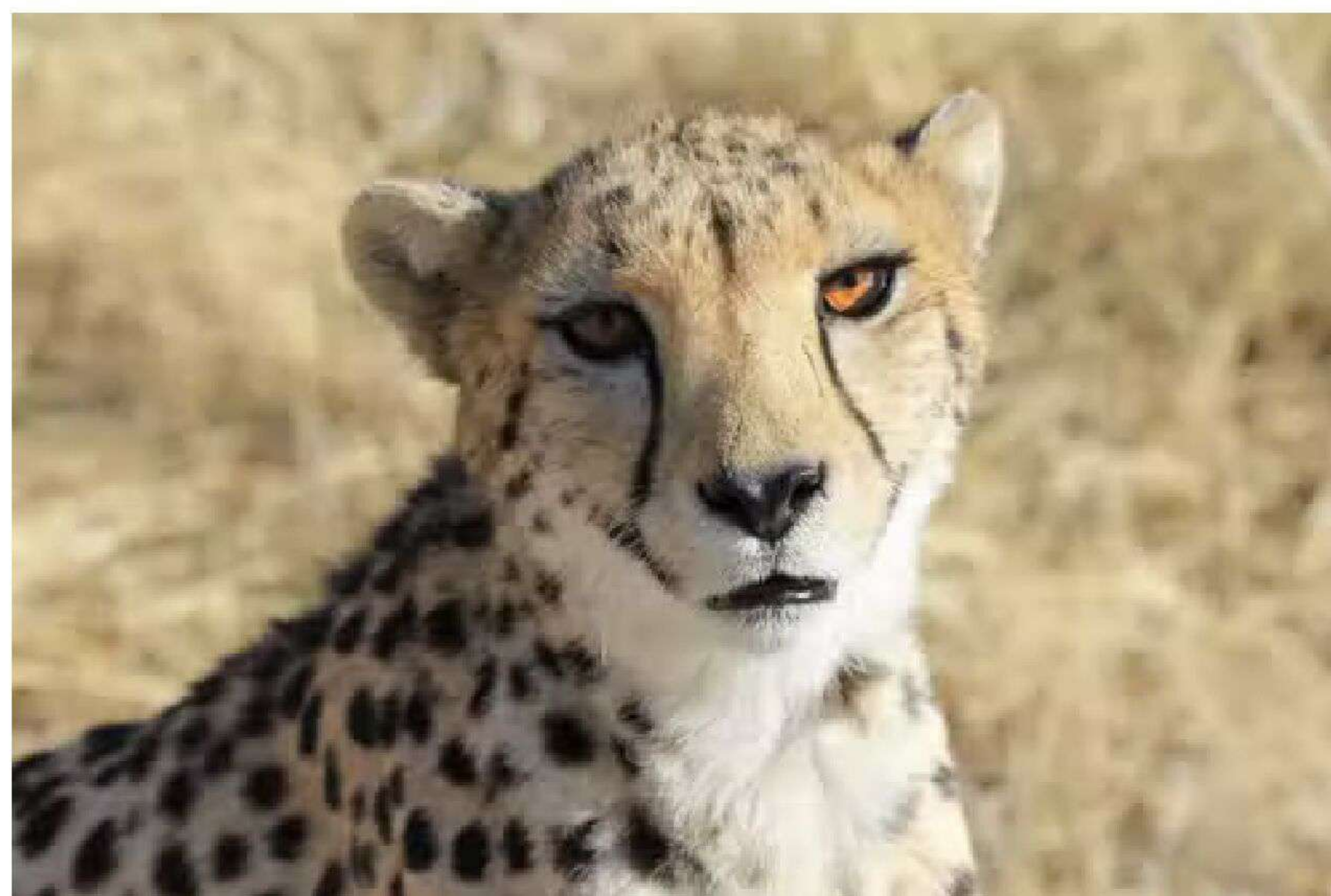
When they finally wake up today after an 11-hour journey including a private jet and helicopter, they will be greeted by



none other than the prime minister of India himself, Narendra Modi, whose birthday celebrations include the honour of releasing the animals into their bespoke enclosure.

Their new home is in India's Kuno National Park, a protected area spanning around 750 sq km (289 sq miles) in Madhya Pradesh, although they will not have access to the whole park just yet. First, the chosen cheetahs – five females and three males – will step out into a restricted paddock where they will begin adapting to the water and air, flora and fauna of India.

The authorities managing the project in India and Namibia are giving the spotted big cats around a month to acclimatise in the smaller enclosure, after which they will be set free to explore their new home and hunt for their most likely prey of spotted deer.



**One of the five female cheetahs is being sent to India (Cheetah Conservation Fund)**

But in that moment a new and very real threat will emerge, and one which will most likely dictate the success or failure of this project to reintroduce cheetahs to India for the first time since they went extinct in the late 1940s.

Close to 100 leopards – a much larger and more muscular species – will be waiting on the other side of the cage, setting the stage for an almost inevitable territorial battle of the big cats.

In any head to head in Kuno, the leopards would tear the cheetahs apart, one of India's top wildlife conservationists



Valmik Thapar tells *The Independent*.

The cheetah, he explains, is a delicate predator unlike any other member of the big cat family, using its unrivalled speed and stealth to catch its prey. Never mind leopards – hyenas, wolves and even village dogs all pose a potentially lethal threat.



**The Kuno National Park will house the wild cats (Cheetah Conservation Fund)**

Indian officials have installed electrical fencing 3.2 metres high around the whole of the cheetah enclosure, hoping this is enough to deter other wild animals from getting inside. Already this is raising alarm bells among independent experts, who argue a minimum fence height of 4.5 metres is required.

“Hyenas, which are found in Kuno by the dozens, will eat the cheetahs alive. Hyenas, leopards and lions are the enemies of the cheetahs in Africa. In India, it will be tigers, leopards and hyenas. There is a constant risk to cheetahs from village dogs who roam wild on the edge of these areas,” says Thapar, adding that the park has more than one hundred villages on its periphery and at least 2,000 village dogs roam these areas.

It is likely that cheetahs will also eventually encounter tigers in India, warns Thapar, saying the latter utilises a corridor stretching from Rajasthan to Madhya Pradesh.

“Tigers from Ranthambore (one of India’s most famous national parks in Rajasthan) move in the corridor to Kuno. In the last six months, one of our tigers from Ranthambore returned to the national park from Kuno,” he adds.





**Deers will largely constitute as the prey base for the cheetahs (Cheetah Conservation Fund)**

Even the Namibia-based Cheetah Conservation Fund (CCF), which has been heavily involved in the relocation project, is cautiously optimistic but has said there will a host of challenges.

Leopards are “sneaky” creatures, says Dr Laurie Marker, CCF’s founder and executive director, acknowledging that these tree-climbing ambush predators are likely the biggest challenge the eight cheetahs will be up against.

Despite the fact that the species is rated vulnerable with fewer than 7,500 remaining on the planet, the authorities in India are prepared to lose a cheetah or two if it comes down to a fight.

“We are prepared to take the losses of cheetahs. Even though we don’t want to lose a single cheetah, and the authorities in this project will go out of their way to save the cheetahs, they must be prepared for certain casualties,” says Dr MK Ranjitsihn, India’s veteran conservationist and wildlife expert and the original architect of the cheetahs’ introduction in India.





The cheetahs were hand-picked based on health, wild disposition and hunting skills (Cheetah Conservation Fund)

Cheetahs, Dr Ranjitsihn insists, can look after and defend themselves. And ultimately, park rangers will not seek to intervene too much.

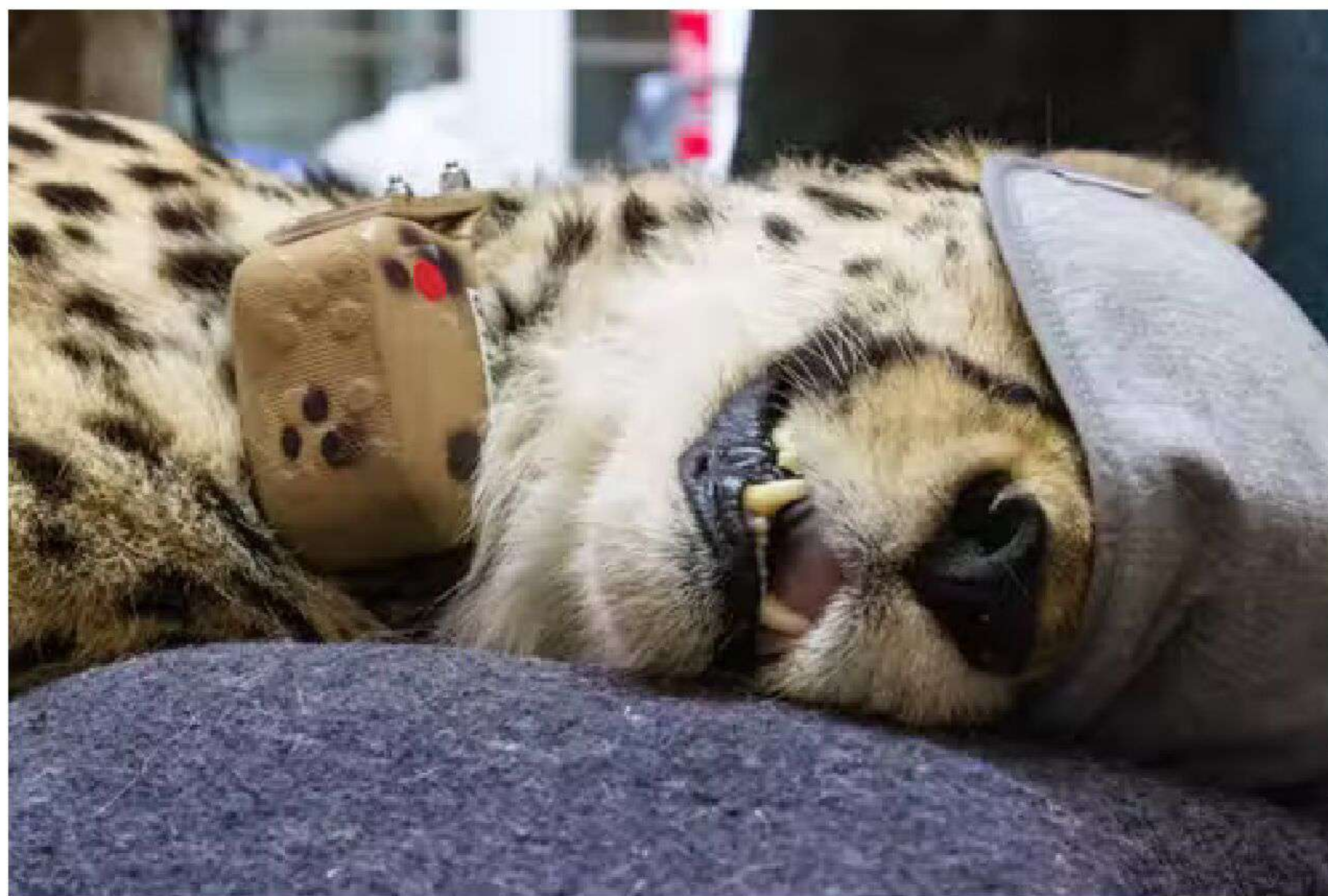
“If a tiger walks in [to Kuno], we won’t drive him away. We are not going to throw them out,” the conservationist says.

Experts working on boosting cheetah populations in Namibia are concerned about the idea of turning the Indian national park into a wrestling ring for clashes between the two cats.

“In Namibia, among all the large carnivores like lions, spotted hyenas, leopards, wild dogs and cheetahs – cheetahs are always the weakest one,” Dr Bettina Wachter, head of the Cheetah Research Project, tells *The Independent* from Namibia.

Visibly concerned as she expresses her scepticism about the project as a whole, the researcher says it is not fair on the cheetahs to treat their reintroduction as a case of trial and error.





The cheetahs have been loaded onto a private B747 jet which will fly overnight and land in central India's Jaipur city (Cheetah Conservation Fund)

“As conservationists, we have a responsibility towards vulnerable, threatened and endangered species,” the scientist says.

Thapar resonates this concern in Delhi, saying that “any cheetah lost in this process will be a disaster, because it is one of the most beautiful endangered animals on our planet”.

“You’re going to bring an exotic species here which is going to face a tremendous threat in any case,” he says. In his view, it is unrealistic to hope – as the Indian government does – for African cheetahs never before seen on this continent to simply slot into the ecological balance of the Asian landscape.

He says that in the last 300 years, since the British started keeping written records of their hunting and wildlife-spotting exploits in India, there is not a single record of any natural, healthy population of cheetahs in the wild in the country.

“Nobody can claim that record – there are only instances of cheetahs being killed over the last 300 years in India.”

Contrast this with the cheetah kingdom in east Africa's Tanzania, he says.

“If today you go to Serengeti, you’ll run into a cheetah mother with her cubs, another set of three mother cheetahs, you run



into male cubs and their coalitions. There is no such record of cheetahs thriving in India,” the Indian naturalist says.

Some critics have also argued that this project does not truly represent reintroduction, as the cheetahs found today in Namibia are a distinct subspecies to those that once roamed India. There are in fact five subspecies of cheetahs in total, with two – the Asiatic cheetah that is now only found in Iran, and the northwest African cheetah – listed as critically endangered. The cheetahs involved in the project are of the Southern African subspecies [*Acinonyx jubatus jubatus*], listed as vulnerable.



Dr Laurie Marker is seen prepping one of the cheetahs in Namibia ahead of the translocation to India (Cheetah Conservation Fund)

But for the CCF chief, the distinction evaporates in the face of the animal’s adaptability. “They’re all the same. Cheetahs are cheetahs, very adaptable. And I’ve seen them in every area they live in and they’re all pretty much the same,” Dr Marker tells *The Independent*, the day before the cheetahs’ take-off from Namibia.

To bring a wild animal to another landscape is always an uphill task, and the officials bringing the cheetahs from Namibia are aware of this.

Dr Ranjitsihn argues that the possibility of conflict should not preclude such projects from being attempted. “Look in the wild, there will [always] be conflict. There are a number of options –



shy away and say we are scared of losing a single cheetah, and we will not do it.

“The second option is to expel leopards from the region... and the third option is to take the chance,” he says. Dr Marker, who has been canvassing Kuno for a decade for this project, says that the potential upsides far outweigh the risks: “When you talk about getting an animal back from the point of extinction, you pretty much have to give it everything you’ve got.”

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# Eight dead after ‘water bomb’ hits central Italy



Rescue workers help people on a flooded street after heavy rains hit the seaside town of Senigallia (AFP/Getty)

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**JOE MIDDLETON**

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At least eight people have been killed and several others are missing after heavy rains and floods hit the central Italian region of Marche on Thursday.



Local authorities said they did not expect such a sudden “water bomb”, as around 400 millimetres of rain fell within three hours, inundating the streets of several towns in the Ancona and Pesaro-Urbino provinces.

“It was like an earthquake,” Ludovico Caverni, the mayor of the town of Serra Sant’Abbondio, told RAI radio.

Footage released by fire brigades showed rescuers on rafts trying to evacuate people in the seaside town of Senigallia, while others attempted to clear an underpass of debris.

Stefano Aguzzi, head of civil protection at Marche’s regional government, said the downpour was far stronger than had been forecast. “We were given a normal alert for rain, but nobody had expected anything like this,” he told reporters.

Footage released by fire brigades showed operators navigating the streets of seaside town Senigallia on rafts to rescue people and evacuate them, while others attempted to clear an underpass of debris. Rescue services were still searching for survivors, authorities were quoted as saying.

Meanwhile, the leader of Italy’s centre-left Democratic Party (PD) Enrico Letta wrote on Twitter that it would stop its campaign in the region ahead of the 25 September national election.

He said: “Let’s stop our election campaign in #Marche. As a sign of mourning and participation in the pain of the affected families and to give [to] our volunteers all the necessary help with respect to the terrible damage of #alluvione.”

More than 180 firefighters are currently working at the scene as people in the area sought refuge on the roofs of houses, reports Italian newspaper *Corriere Della Sera*.

Alessandro Piccini, the mayor of Cantiano, a town in the region, said on Facebook: “A water bomb is falling on Cantiano.

Different rivers are flowing. Water has invaded the main streets of the country. Several areas are already submerged. Communal viability is interrupted in several parts. The state direction of



Gubbio is closed. We invite the citizens to keep calm and avoid risky situations.”

It is the latest severe weather event to have impacted the country this summer. Italy suffered its worst drought in 70 years after months of dwindling water levels that left the country’s longest river, the Po, visibly depleted.

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# Lebanese banks are held up by more of their customers



Abed Soubra speaks from the Beirut bank where he demanded his frozen savings (AFP/Getty)

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**JOE MIDDLETON**

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More Lebanese banks were stormed by their customers yesterday as the spiralling number of hold-ups continues amid the country's financial crisis. At least seven banks have been held up since Wednesday after most financial institutions prevented customers from withdrawing savings from their accounts, leaving many unable to pay for basic items.



This has caused a spate of account holders to seek access to their money through force, often brandishing weapons in an attempt to get their funds as Lebanon continues to struggle in the third year of a severe economic depression.

Yesterday morning, an armed man identified as Abed Soubra entered BLOM Bank in Beirut's Tariq Jdideh neighbourhood demanding his deposit, the bank told Reuters. He was still locked in the branch hours later and said by phone that he had handed over his gun to security forces and just wanted his money. "I'll stay here three, four, five days – I won't move until I get my deposit," he said.

Mr Soubra said he had refused an offer from the bank to take a portion of his \$300,000 in savings with a significant cut and in Lebanese currency. "I deposited my money in dollars – I want them back in dollars," he said.



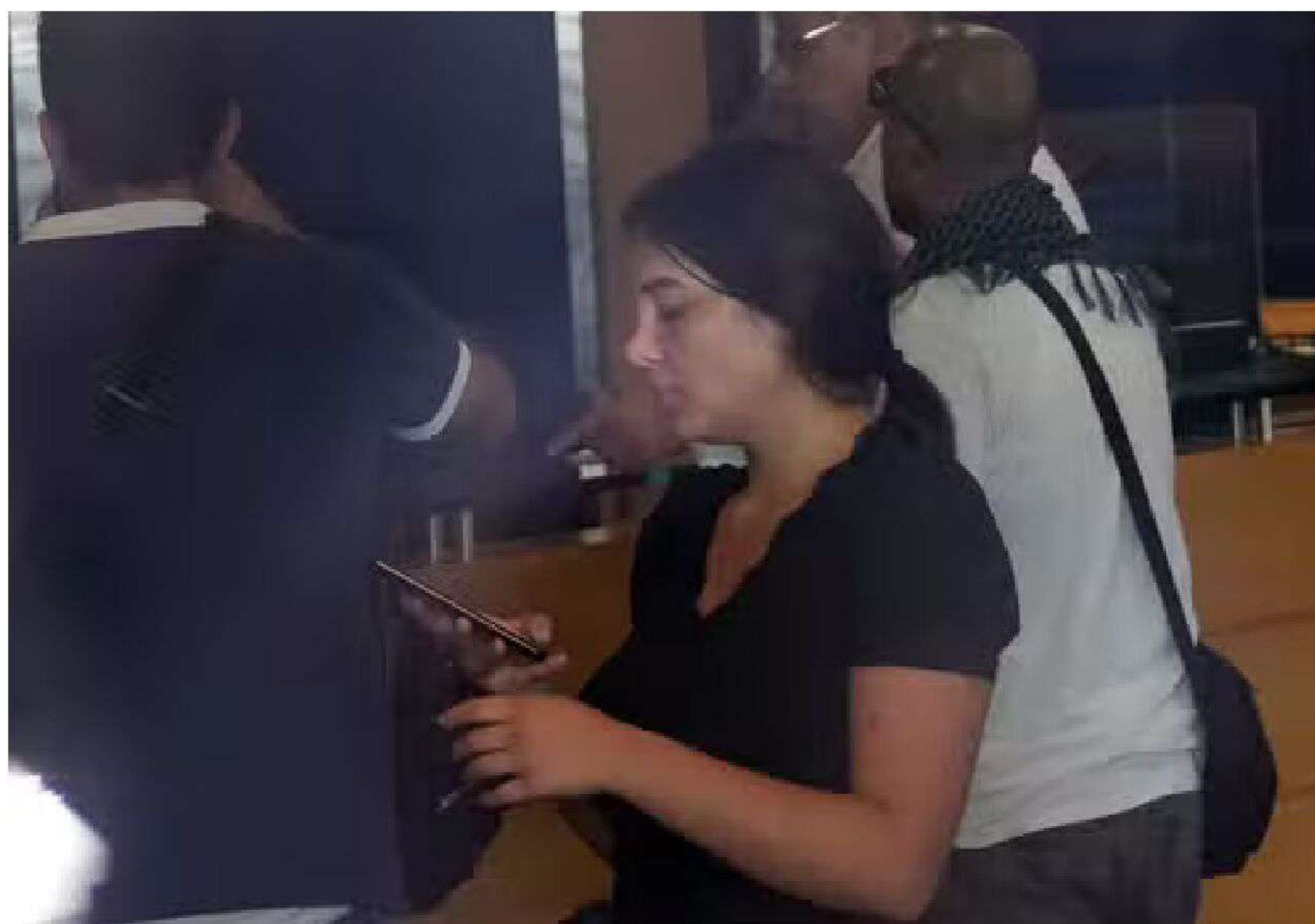
A soldier at the scene of a bank protest in Beirut as Lebanon's financial crisis continues (Anadolu Agency via Getty Images)

Mr Soubra was cheered on by a large crowd who gathered outside, including Bassam al-Sheikh Hussein, who carried out the very first hold-up in August to get his own deposits from his bank, which later dropped charges against him. "We're going to keep seeing this happen as long as people have money inside. What do you want them to do? They don't have another solution," said Mr Hussein, who obtained around \$30,000 from his savings of \$200,000.



In another incident, a man was able to retrieve a portion of his funds from the Ghazieh branch of Byblos Bank before being arrested, a source said, adding that the weapon in his possession was believed to be a toy. Byblos Bank could not immediately be reached for comment.

Elsewhere, a man with a pellet gun entered a branch of LGB Bank in Beirut's Ramlet al-Bayda area seeking to withdraw some \$50,000 dollars in savings, a bank employee said. Mohammad al-Moussawi threatened the Banque Libano-Francaise (BLF) bank with a fake gun and managed to get \$20,000 in cash out of his account, he said. "This banking system is tricking us and it's worth my shoe," he said, telling Reuters he would be going into hiding.



**Sali Hafez after breaking into a BLOM Bank branch on Wednesday with what she later said was a toy pistol (AP)**

BLF Bank said the incident "took five minutes" and that no employees were harmed. The fifth incident yesterday afternoon saw a man fire shots inside a branch of Bankmed as he sought access to his own savings, an industry source told Reuters, adding that the man was a member of Lebanon's security forces and there were no immediate reports of injuries.

Lebanon's banks association has announced a three-day closure next week over mounting security concerns and called on the government to pass necessary laws to deal with the crisis. Authorities have been slow to pass reforms that would grant



them access to \$3bn (£2.6bn) from the International Monetary Fund to ease the crisis.

Withdrawals in Lebanese pounds are worth less and less, as the lira has lost more than 95 per cent of its value since 2019. It comes just days after a woman brandishing a toy pistol broke into a Beirut bank on Wednesday, taking \$13,000 from her trapped savings.

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# World news in brief



The Hungarian prime minister Victor Orban is accused of leading his country towards an authoritarian state (Getty)

## **Hungary ‘autocracy’ verdict correct, say activists**

Civil liberties groups have welcomed an EU report that says Hungary cannot be considered a full democracy. The EU parliament voted to approve the report which accused Prime Minister Viktor Orban of creating an “electoral autocracy”.

Eve Geddie, director of Amnesty International’s EU office, yesterday said: “The alarm bell rung by the European parliament



echoes Amnesty International's longstanding concerns about the human rights crisis in Hungary. Authorities have attacked the independence of the judiciary, refused to ratify a treaty protecting women from violence, passed homophobic and transphobic laws, cracked down on refugees and asylum seekers and suppressed freedom of expression and association. All of this must immediately be reversed."

Dr Marta Pardavi, co-chair of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee – a human rights monitoring group – told the BBC: "For Hungarian human rights organisations, this is sadly not surprising," Dr Marta Pardavi told BBC News. "This is obviously something that is very painful for us as Hungarian citizens, but we do see that the report's conclusion is inevitable." He added that "very serious violations" of democratic norms have been documented against Mr Orban's regime.

### **Mexico arrests general in case of missing students**

Mexican authorities have arrested a retired general and three other members of the army for alleged connection to the disappearance of 43 students in southern Mexico in 2014, the government said. Assistant public safety secretary Ricardo Mejia said that among those arrested was the former officer who commanded the army base in the Guerrero state city of Iguala in September 2014, when the students from a radical teacher's college were abducted. Mr Mejia said a fourth arrest was expected soon.

Mr Mejia did not give names of those arrested, but the commander of the Iguala base at that time was Jose Rodriguez Perez, then a colonel. Barely a year after the students' disappearances and with the missing students' families already raising suspicions about military involvement and demanding access to the base, Mr Rodriguez was promoted to brigadier general. A government official who spoke on condition of anonymity confirmed that Mr Rodriguez was arrested and said he was being held at a military installation. *AP*



## **Iran orders probe of woman's death in custody**

Iran's president has ordered an investigation in the case of a young woman who slipped into a coma while in custody in Tehran and died. The police have said she suffered a heart attack. According to the state-run IRNA news agency, President Ebrahim Raisi asked interior minister Ahmad Vahidi to "investigate the cause of the incident with urgency and special attention".

According to reports on social media, Mahsa Amini, 22, was detained earlier this week by the so-called "morality police" after officers apparently found fault with her headscarf, or hijab. The headscarf has been compulsory for women in Iran since after the 1979 Islamic Revolution and members of the morality police enforce the strict dress code. Police said that Amini, who was arrested on Tuesday, was taken to a hospital after she allegedly had a heart attack while in custody. Pro-reform news websites quoted an uncle of Amini as saying she had no history of heart disease. Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, has supported a softer attitude toward women who do not comply with the official dress code.

## **Denmark spy chief charged with leaking secrets**

Denmark yesterday charged the suspended chief of the country's foreign intelligence unit with leaking highly classified information. Lars Findsen, who has previously denied any wrongdoing, was accused of passing state secrets to six people including two journalists over the course of 16 months to 17 months, the prosecutor's office said.

The prosecutor said Mr Findsen could be sentenced to prison of up to four years under the charges, some of which belong to a section of the penal code which includes treason. Mr Findsen, who in January called the charges "completely insane", did not immediately comment and his lawyer only confirmed the charges. *Reuters*



## **Man who tried to shoot Kirchner charged**

The man who tried to shoot Argentina's vice president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner has been charged with attempted homicide. Fernando Sabag Montiel, a 35-year-old Brazilian citizen, pointed a Bersa handgun at the vice president just inches away from her face when the leader was greeting her supporters outside her home on 1 September. He pulled the trigger twice but for reasons unknown, the loaded handgun failed to go off. Ms Fernandez de Kirchner survived the assassination attempt unharmed.

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# Travelling into 2023: top holiday tips with Simon Calder and Helen Coffey

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# *Meet the 'Super Seven': the all-new slimline monarchy*

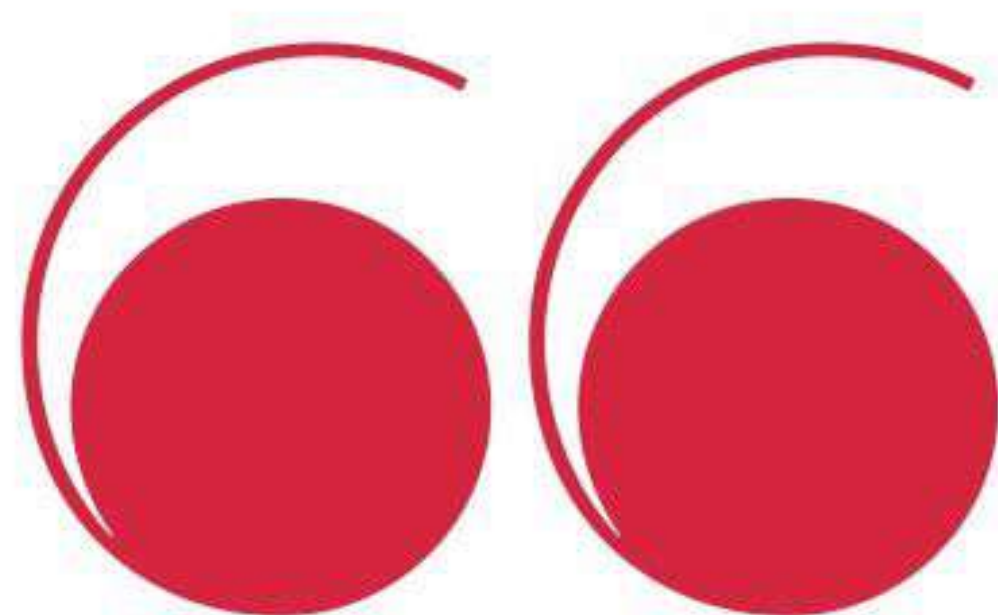


The core group will have to do their bit to justify their existence to a public faced with doubling fuel bills, stagnant wages and soaring inflation (Getty)

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**SEAN O'GRADY**

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For car spotters (I'm not going to bother trying to make it sound respectable for an old bloke to be indulging in such a hobby), it was a special moment when, soon after his accession, King Charles III rode out in a Rolls-Royce Phantom IV limousine made for his mother, who was then Princess Elizabeth, in 1950.



Only 18 were produced between 1950 and 1956, of which 16 survive. Among other things, this graceful, imposing, and very long vehicle had the distinction of only being available to heads of state and royalty, which played a small role in re-establishing Rolls-Royce's reputation and snob appeal after the dislocations of the Second World War.

Elsewhere, the King and his Queen Consort have been taxied around in various Phantom VI models, which are relatively common, really. His mother tended to use the state Bentley presented by what remained of the British motor industry for her golden jubilee in 2002. This has various modern VW and Audi components under its retro bodywork, because the German group owns Bentley now, and it is obviously too much of a pastiche for the new King. He prefers the more traditional look, as you'd expect.

Point being that we're unlikely to see HM and his missus travelling around London by bicycle, Boris Johnson-style, any time soon – as is famously the case with some of the continental monarchies.

The King, according to most accounts of his lifestyle, is not as personally frugal as his mother, and has been known to be extravagant in his hospitality. As we enter the era of food banks and the biggest squeeze on living standards since the war, that's the sort of thing that could get him bad press. Along with his reputation for discourteousness and temper tantrums, of which we've already seen glimpses, this could prove a significant obstacle to public acceptance.

That said, and in sharp contrast, the King does seem intent on slimming down the privileges and perks of his extended family. We have already witnessed the effective redundancy of Prince Andrew, Prince Harry, and Meghan, Duchess of Sussex.



**There'll be reforms, but they'll be evolutionary; and much will remain opaque – particularly the fuzzy line between what the family 'owns' and thus has a claim to raise income from, and what is plainly the property of the state**



As for the patronages, visits, investitures and tours, there has already been established a core group who will undertake most of these activities – and will be alone in receiving taxpayers' cash via the sovereign grant, which covers their official travel, property maintenance, and the operating costs of the King's household. (Security costs are not covered by the sovereign grant and are paid separately by the public. Of course, the King also receives considerable income from his "private" wealth and the crown estates, on which he pays income tax – agreed with his mother, after a recessionary period, in 1992.)

So, we will see rather more of rather fewer "active" or "working" royals – with the rest allowed to keep their titles and perhaps some grace-and-favour privileges and duties. Gradually, the Kents, Gloucesters, Yorks and others – with their Shakespearean-sounding titles – will fade from the scene: living mementoes of the historic fecundity of the houses of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Windsor.

Instead, the "Super Seven" will be the focus of attention, and will have to do their bit to justify their existence to a public faced with doubling fuel bills, stagnant wages and soaring inflation – the King; Queen Consort Camilla; the new Prince and Princess of Wales (aka Wills 'n' Kate); Anne, as Princess Royal; and the Wessexes, Prince Edward and his wife Sophie.

Maybe, in due course, their own children will roll their sleeves up and go royal walkabout; but for now it's a streamlined team.

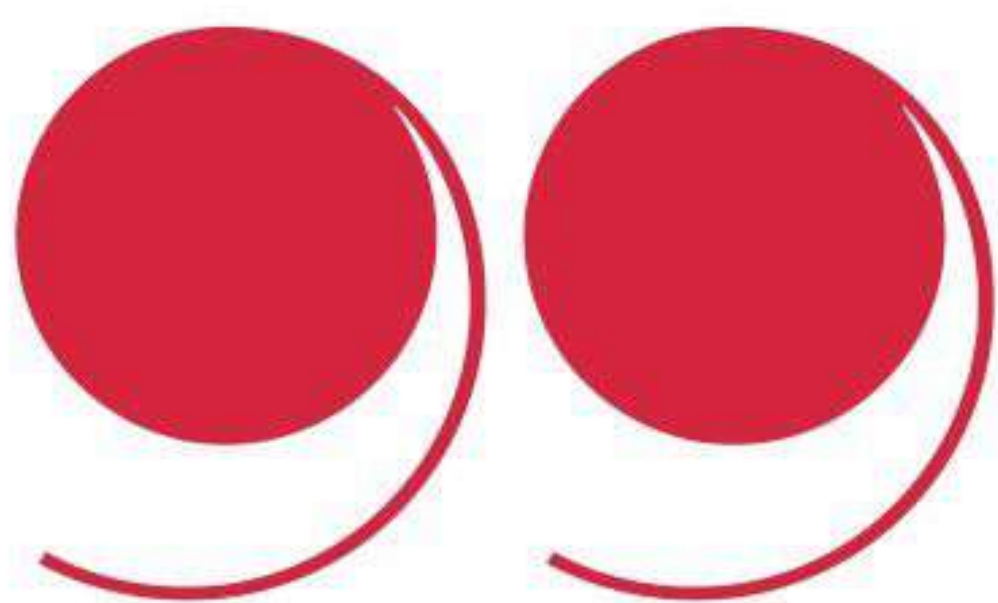


On top of that, more of Buckingham Palace and Balmoral will be opened up – not least to earn some income.

So it will be streamlined, more than “slimmed down”, really – in the sense that the King and Queen won’t be exercising much austerity, and the rest of the Super Seven probably won’t face many privations either. The wider penumbra will, though, be expected to fend for themselves and/or keep their heads down (the Duke of York in particular).

There’ll be reforms, but they’ll be evolutionary; and much will remain opaque – particularly the fuzzy line between what the family “owns” and thus has a claim to raise income from, and what is plainly the property of the state. It would be much more satisfactory if the Firm were actually run as a firm, with all its assets in public ownership, the members of the family effectively salaried and contracted, and all made accountable to public and parliament. If there is to be no inheritance tax payable on the £15bn estate, then let it be public property.

We should nationalise the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, and all the rest of it, accrued via their stays as heads of state for centuries. We don’t want or need a bicycling monarchy, and certainly not with that magnificent fleet of classic vehicles at their disposal; but we are supposed to be a democracy. Aren’t we?



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# *Women's football should look to Los Angeles for its future*

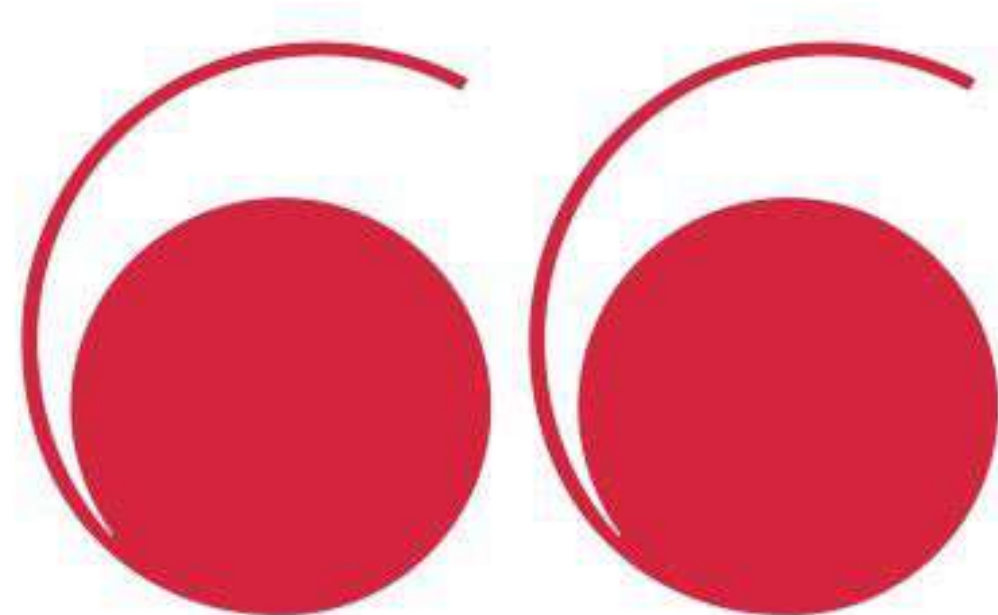


Arsenal and Brighton players observe a minute's silence to mark the death of Queen Elizabeth, prior to last night's WSL fixture at Meadow Park, Borehamwood (The FA/Getty)

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**KATE MCGREGOR**

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The delayed Women's Super League got up and running on Friday night – after a minute's silence and with black armbands – as Arsenal beat Brighton 4-0.



While the game may have been tinged with sadness, women's football overall is still on a high – almost 90,000 people went to Wembley Stadium to watch England beat Germany 2-1 in the Women's European Championship final this summer.

But it's still not all plain sailing; if in the belief that women's football is on the crest of something huge you have tried to enrol your daughter in a local club – or tried to buy some kit in the aftermath of said triumph – you'll have seen there is still a long way to go.

Some 17.4 million fans were glued to that Euro 2022 final on TV, but the reality is that football-loving girls who want to play the game still feel unwelcome, not just when it comes to getting their hands on shorts, shirts, socks and boots, but in schools and clubs too. Even the elite players play and train in substandard facilities. Sarina Wiegman's team triumphed in spite of the pitiful support they receive.

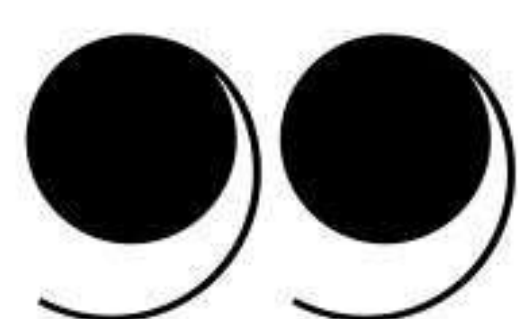
This is a pivotal point for women's football. Uefa believes there could be 330 million fans by 2033; at 575,000, the Euro tournament's attendance was double the record set in 2017; and tens of thousands of girls were reported to have started playing the game recreationally in England.

But the momentum will be lost unless we create an ambitious vision for the women's game. We need to create a top-down and bottom-up model that ensures the game is developed at all levels: the broadcast rights will reflect the brilliance of the product and the skills of the elite players, and the grassroots will be nurtured too.

This is not fantasy football. It's already a reality in Los Angeles where teams like Angel City FC are changing the game. We only need look at the strong women involved with them – Serena Williams, Natalie Portman, Jessica Chastain, Jennifer Garner and Eva Longoria – as an inspirational example of what modern sport can achieve if you rip up the old systems and start from scratch.



## **We need new women-friendly clubs to tackle the drop-out rate of girls, which is far too high. Women's football will be a sport that nurtures**



We need a similar blueprint for how to develop women's football in the UK. Uefa believes that women's football could see a sixfold increase in its commercial value over the next decade, and this is nothing like its full potential. But first, we need to think holistically rather than club by club. We need to be bold enough to wrap this up in one big revolutionary move, starting with getting the Football Association to relinquish its hold on the WSL.

Every level of the football pyramid must be overhauled. At the top, we can add new brands, new tournaments, new formats – and ensure that crucial girls' and women's kit and apparel are designed to reflect our physiological differences and a new set of role models. Why should our top teams be constrained to Europe? We should be playing the best of the USA regularly.

Second, we should go forward with real purpose and create a league that looks after its players – from more accessible pathways to professionalism, to a respect for maternity rights and a removal of the stigma that prevents discussion of menstruation and performance.

Post-career support is crucial, as is supporting much-needed infrastructure for communities. We need new women-friendly clubs to tackle the drop-out rate of girls, which is far too high. Women's football will be a sport that nurtures. The product will benefit.

Third, the broadcasting rights strategy must be coherent and, importantly, designed to reach fans of all ages. And that means games must be scheduled at a consistent time and then

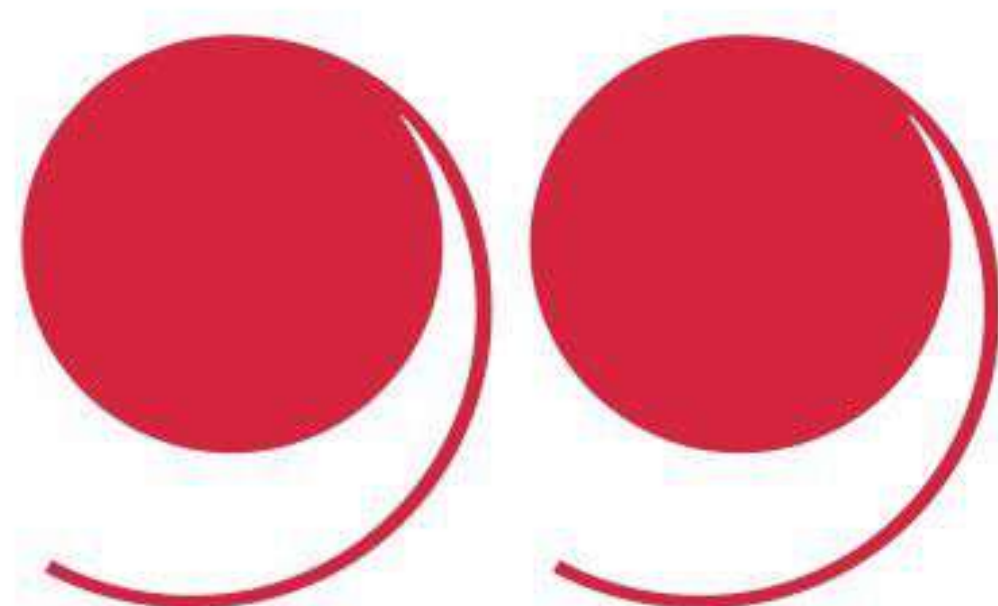


streamed. The Premier League helped take football from the era of crumbling male-dominated terraces to a wonderfully immersive viewer experience with the use of multiple camera angles.

The appetite for women's football is there and a new deal will meet the demands of all fans of all ages and budgets from day one. TV rights – at the moment a minuscule fraction of the men's game – have a huge potential and the WSL should look at Apple's \$2.5bn deal with Major League Soccer, signed this summer, in which all the men's North American games are finally in one place, at predictable times.

Such a vision is not remotely unrealistic. The FA, I'm sure, would let go under the right terms. But it will need the commitment of serious people in the mould of Angel City founder Kara Nortman who will bring their skills and drive from the worlds of digital technology, entertainment and investment.

*Kate McGregor is managing director of football media business COPA90*



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# After death of the Queen, what next for the Sussexes?

Prince Harry and Meghan have been thrust back into royal duties. **Laura Hampson** asks what this means for their future



After taking time to find their feet, it felt as if the couple were coming into their own (Getty)

For the Duke and Duchess of Sussex, the timing of the Queen's death could not have been worse. Prince Harry and Meghan were just beginning to make strides with their Californian life and – finally – fulfil some of the many contracts they signed after



stepping down as senior members of the royal family in 2020, when news of Her Majesty's death came.

Just a couple of weeks prior to the Queen's death at Balmoral on 8 September, Meghan had launched her podcast, *Archetypes*, with Spotify and sat down for a wide-ranging interview with *The Cut*. Harry's tell-all memoir was scheduled for release in November and, two days before Her Majesty's death, the pair were in Germany marking the one year to go for the 2023 Invictus Games.

After a couple of years finding their feet, it finally felt as if the Sussexes were coming into their own. But then Harry got the call to make his way to Balmoral. This has halted plans for the Sussexes. Meghan put a pause on her weekly podcast after she and Harry stepped out with the newly minted Prince and Princess of Wales last Saturday at Windsor, the "fab four's" first joint outing since the Sussexes' departure.

Meghan and Harry also participated in the procession on Wednesday, with Harry joining his brother Prince William and father, King Charles III, walking behind Her Majesty's coffin as it was transported from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Hall. Meghan followed in a car with Sophie, Countess of Wessex, and joined Harry in the hall where they held hands – a public display of affection so rarely offered by the royal family.



Harry and Meghan holding hands after the royal procession that took the Queen's coffin to Westminster Hall (Getty)



The Sussexes appear to have seamlessly slipped back into royal life, but this was always going to be the case when Her Majesty passed. While Meghan couldn't make Prince Philip's funeral in 2021 due to Covid restrictions and being heavily pregnant with daughter Lilibet, even if they hadn't have been staying in Windsor at the time of Her Majesty's death and had been at their Californian fortress instead, it's likely she would have made the transatlantic journey to pay respect to her grandmother-in-law. Harry, of course, was always going to return to be by his brother and father's sides, despite any rumoured rifts between the three.

But what does this mean for the future of Harry, Meghan and the royal family? While Harry and Meghan will be at the Queen's funeral on Monday, it is unlikely that Harry's father becoming King will entice the "spare" to return to royal life. He and Meghan seem content with their new sun-soaked way of living, with their two children and their three dogs. While it's hard to see any future where the Duke and Duchess would return to royal work full-time, it's heartening to see them return in a time of need, and for a family to be reunited once more.

Yours,

Laura Hampson

Deputy lifestyle editor

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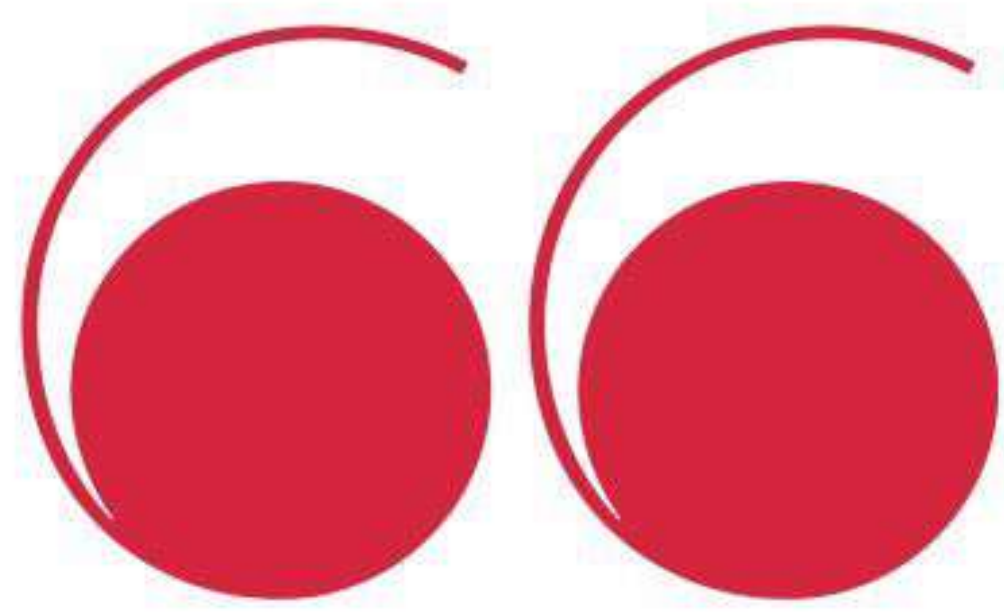
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# *All downhill since Brexit...*



I read Ed Dorrell's piece with interest and agreement (Britain is on the brink... it's no wonder morale is so low, yesterday). We appear to travel from one crisis to the next – not always of our own making. Who could have envisaged a dire pandemic or a European war? I too remember that wonderful year 2012, when we celebrated the Queen's diamond jubilee and hosted the Olympics. I was so proud to be British and felt the country was on a real, positive and unifying trajectory. But after the Brexit referendum, I feel a great sense of loss and to my mind it has all gone downhill since that momentous and in my humble opinion, misguided decision.

As Dorrell rightly states, we now have the Queen's death and the massive outpouring has been emblematic of how people feel. Only three months ago, we had her wonderful platinum jubilee celebrations – now a constant presence in our lives has gone. This whole period has been so discombobulating and somehow life looks bleak and unknowable. I feel that King Charles III will rise to the occasion and rule intelligently with empathy and understanding, but I rather feel that the "jury is out" on the government. I sincerely hope to be proved wrong in that respect, for all our sakes – or life indeed will get worse and worse before it gets better.

**Judith A Daniels** *Great Yarmouth*

## **No one is innocent**

It is hard to imagine the United Kingdom without the Queen. The longest reigning head of state in history. It is therefore not



uncommon to see heads of states scrambling to come to London to attend her funeral on Monday.

The crown prince of Saudi Arabia has every right to come to London, represent his country and offer his heartfelt sympathies; exactly as any head of state whose country is implicated in human rights abuses whether China, Israel or Uganda. No one is entirely innocent.

**Dr Munjed Farid Al Qutob** *London*

## **Narcissism of minor differences**

The royal anguish caused by the protocol on medals, uniforms and titles recalls Sigmund Freud's concept of the narcissism of minor differences.

**Dr John Doherty** *Vienna*

## **Endless mourning**

Life concludes by death, for all of us. It's a natural law, however much we may wish that this may be otherwise. As it is, nobody throughout history has survived life, however brilliant or worthy. So it is no different for a monarch, no matter how revered and how much loved. Personally, I find it more heartbreaking to mourn the death of nine-year-old Olivia Pratt-Korbel, who had never been given the chance to experience life at its fullest, than to mourn the death of our Queen.

She had lived an extremely privileged, comfortable life in a gilded cage, in opulent palaces and castles, surrounded by servants and advisers. She died at the age of 96, apparently without suffering. It was time for her to go, as we all will. She has been extremely fortunate to have lived the privileged life she has and it is right that we mourn her. However, I cannot be the only one who now finds the extravagant pomposity of her seemingly endless funeral arrangements nauseating.

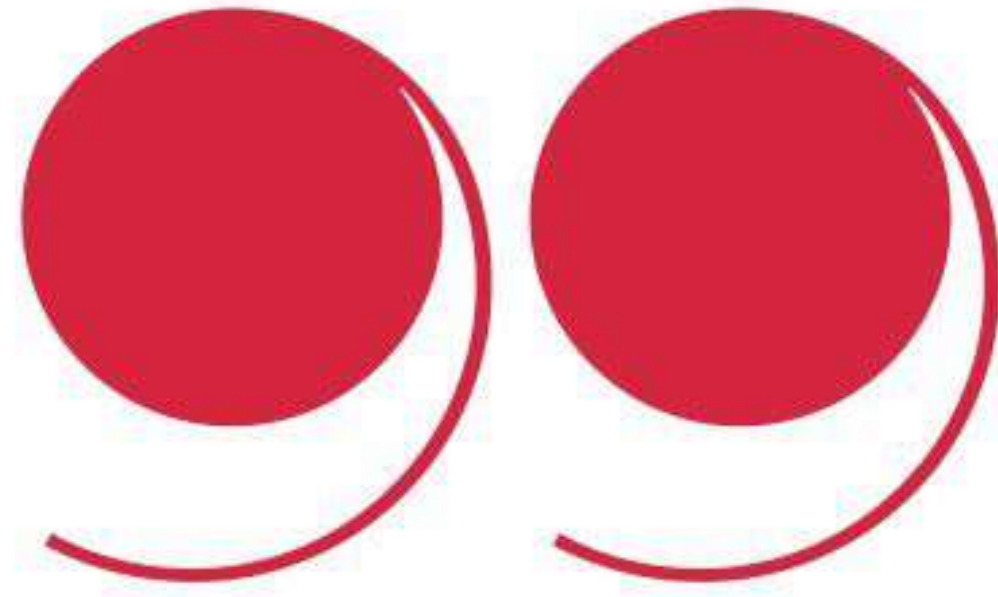
**Gunter Straub** *London*

## **How lucky for bankers**



How fortunate that following the 2008 financial crash hardly any of those responsible have faced investigation or justice. So, if they find Kwasi Kwarteng's offer of unlimited bonuses attractive enough, they can come back and hit the ground running. They may even be able to dust down some of their old arcane, toxic financial schemes for immediate launch into our economy.

**Ashley Herbert** *Huddersfield*



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# Foreign investor warning after pound hits 37-year low



One City expert said 'very bad' figures suggest the UK may already be in recession (Reuters)

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**ADAM FORREST**

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International investors could desert the UK if they lose further confidence in the juddering economy, Liz Truss's government was warned as the pound hit a new 37-year low against the dollar. Fears that the British economy has already entered recession following much worse-than-expected retail figures



sparked heavy selling of the pound on the money markets yesterday.

Leading fund manager Nicola Horlick, often dubbed “City superwoman”, warned that investors could decide against investing in gilts needed to fund extra government borrowing, as Ms Truss plans a £100bn package to control soaring energy bills. Ms Horlick said yesterday’s retail figures, showing a 1.6 per cent sales drop in August compared to the 0.5 per cent fall predicted, were “very bad indeed” – reflecting a sharp decline in spending among Britons “battered” by rising bills and food costs.

“I wouldn’t be surprised if the [next GDP] figures show that we are actually already in recession,” the expert told BBC Radio 4’s *World at One*. “Currency traders are looking at these [retail] figures and saying, ‘This looks like a recessionary environment.’ Therefore they are devaluing the pound.”

Chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng is expected to set out more details on the energy plan and announce the reversal of planned tax rises at his mini-Budget on 23 September, with the government expected to increase borrowing.

But Ms Horlick warned that investors could turn away from gilts needed to fund the extra spending during the energy crisis “if there’s a general lack of confidence in the UK economy”. She said: “We are relying on people to actually buy gilts to fund all of this, and if international investors decide, ‘We don’t like the look of gilts’, that means we’re going to have to see further increases in interest rates to get people to buy gilts.”

The fall in the pound came on the 30th anniversary of Black Wednesday, when the UK had to withdraw from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), damaging the Conservatives’ reputation over their handling of the economy for years.

Asked if the current crisis could rival the scale of Black Wednesday, Ms Horlick said it was “so important to keep international investors onside”, adding: “We need confidence in our currency. We need confidence in our debt so that people buy



gilt, and if we don't have that level of confidence... we're going to have some big problems."

John Hardy, head of FX strategy at Saxo Bank, said investors were worried that Ms Truss's plans increased the risk of larger deficits, adding: "The grinding backdrop of everything that's going on is weighing on sterling, with the UK running these massive external deficits and the risks around the new prime minister's policies adding to that."

Sterling dropped below 1.14 dollars for a couple of hours yesterday, taking it to its worst point since 1985. It followed Office for National Statistics (ONS) figures showing food shops, non-food shops, online retailers and fuel sellers all saw sales declines in August – the first time they have experienced such a hit since July 2021. Martin Beck, chief economic adviser to the EY Item Club, said: "The recession which retailers currently find themselves in is likely to persist through the rest of this year and into 2023."

Ms Horlick also warned that Brexit compounded Britain's bleak economic outlook due to the burden of red tape meaning the UK is unable to take full advantage of cheaper exports. "In my view we've rather shot ourselves in the foot with Brexit, because it should mean our goods are cheaper and therefore our exports should be increasing," the investment expert said.

She added: "But because we've made it more difficult to export to our major export market [the EU], we're not seeing the rise in exports that we should be seeing. We should be seeing a benefit from the lower pound from that point of view." Ms Horlick also warned that fixed-rate mortgage rates could soon go up to 5.5 per cent, with the Bank of England expected to push rates up next week in a bid to control inflation after the national mourning for Queen Elizabeth II delayed a decision.

The chancellor is expected to spell out further details of the move to cap annual household energy bills at £2,500 at the end of next week, as well as confirming Ms Truss's plan to reverse the 1.25 per cent national insurance rise and ditch the planned hike in corporation tax.



The Treasury will not reveal the total cost of Ms Truss's energy plan, only giving short-term costs of possibly "a handful of months", according to *The Telegraph*. It remains unclear whether Mr Kwarteng will announce an axing of the cap on bankers' bonuses as part of the "fiscal event". Only 15 per cent of the public support the proposal to ditch the cap, according to a YouGov poll.

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**Business**

# Uber computer systems are breached by a 'teen' hacker



'This is a total compromise, from what it looks like,' one cybersecurity expert said yesterday (AP)

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**VISHWAM SANKARAN**

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Uber is investigating a breach of its computer systems, the ride-hailing company said yesterday, as it took several of its internal communications and engineering systems offline.

"We are currently responding to a cybersecurity incident," the company tweeted. The hacker compromised an employee's official Slack account and posted a message, announcing himself



and sharing that “Uber has suffered a data breach”, *The Washington Post* reported.

The cyberattacker told *The New York Times* that he was 18 years old, and told the *Post* he had broken into the company’s systems for his own entertainment. Uber employees reportedly believed the post to be a joke at first, according to reports.

The company said it was assessing the extent of the hack, adding that it was in touch with law enforcement and would post additional updates on Twitter as they become available. The hacker also reportedly sent images of “email, cloud storage, and code repositories” to cybersecurity researchers and posted an “explicit image” on an internal page for employees, according to Reuters.

“This is a total compromise, from what it looks like,” security expert Sam Curry, who reportedly corresponded with the hacker claiming responsibility, told *The New York Times*. The company pointed to its Twitter statement in response to *The Independent’s* request for comment on the extent of the breach.

This is not the first time Uber has faced a cybersecurity incident. It came under fire for a 2016 breach that exposed the data of around 57 million drivers and passengers. Personal information such as names and phone numbers of Uber users worldwide were stolen along with the names and licence numbers of some 600,000 drivers, Uber chief Dara Khosrowshahi said. This included records of nearly 82,000 drivers based in the UK.

The company hid the incident until 2017 and paid hackers not to release the stolen data. “We are changing the way we do business,” Mr Khosrowshahi said after the company’s founder Travis Kalanick was forced out.

Following the 2016 incident, Uber was fined £385,000 by the UK Information Commissioner’s Office (ICO). The ICO found the company guilty of a “serious breach” of UK data protection law and said it had shown “complete disregard” for customers and drivers whose data was stolen.



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# Truss's government is off to a politically tone-deaf start



The PM is pursuing the 'trickle down' effect, the concept that says benefiting those at the top reaps gains below. Where the bankers' bonuses are concerned, this is rubbish (PA)

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**CHRIS BLACKHURST**

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Already, we're forming a picture of what the Liz Truss government will be like. And it's not pretty.

Within a matter of days, we've been told that the Online Safety Bill is to be watered down to appease the tech giants, planned restrictions on unhealthy foods will not go ahead so pleasing the



sugar lobby, some measures to make us greener are unlikely to get the go-ahead, and the cap on bankers' bonuses will be lifted. This, while ministerial appointments have yet to be announced and the country is in mourning following the death of the Queen.

It says much about priorities and who pulls the levers of influence in the Conservative Party and in her administration that these items should emerge at the top of the "to do" list. Big business, big money, is clearly getting its way.

Even the announcement that energy bills were to be frozen carried an element of kicking and screaming to it, that Truss had to be persuaded, it appeared it was not something that she wholeheartedly supported.

What's especially galling about the bonuses news is the accompanying disingenuity, that somehow Truss is working quickly to drive growth in the economy and this represents part of that strategy. Just as bad is how this claim is being swallowed by sections of the media. The BBC reported faithfully that the chancellor's mooted lifting of the bonus cap will provide an economic "boost".

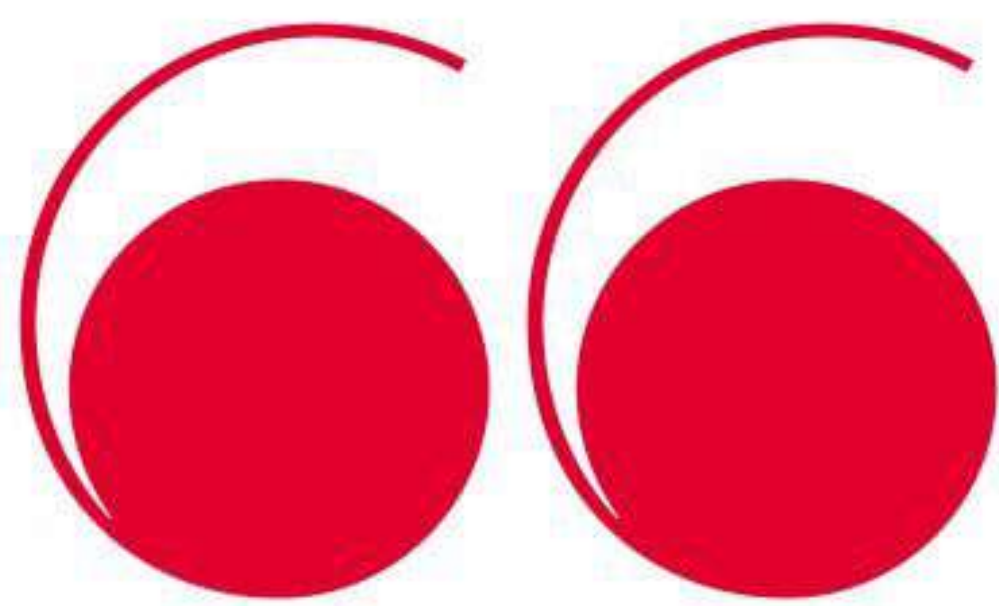
No evidence was offered for this assertion. There was vague talk that some foreign banks have been put off coming to London by the need to pay high fixed salaries to their people because in the UK bonuses are limited to twice that amount. What they'd like is the flexibility to pay lower salaries and higher bonuses.

Who are these banks? The City vies with New York as the world's leading financial centre. There is not a bank worth the name that is not currently located in London. The notion that there is some financial powerhouse poised, waiting for the bonus limit to be scrapped before it can set up in the UK, is simply laughable.

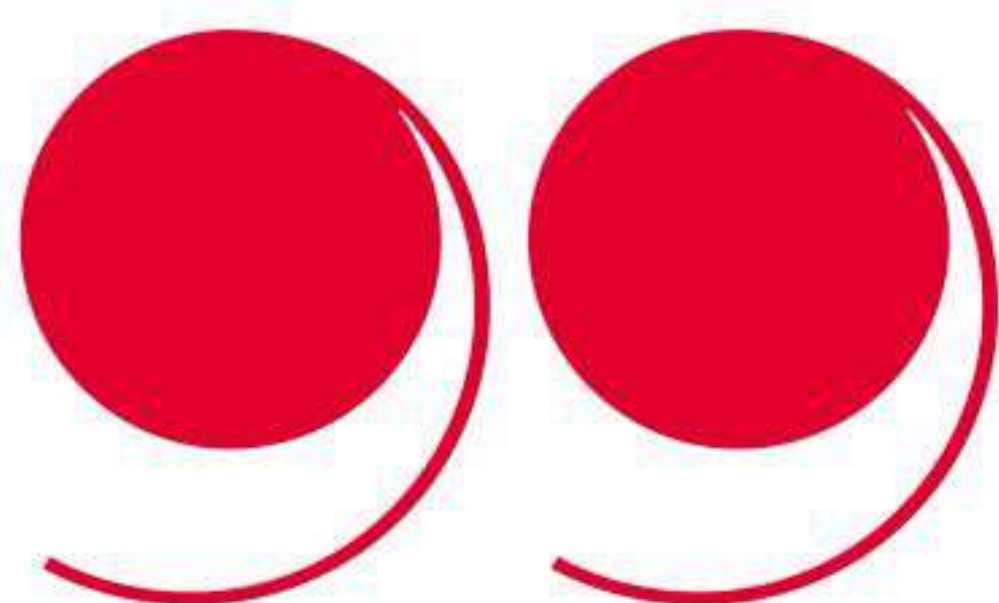
No, the truth is more prosaic, which is that the banks that are presently operating in London would like the freedom to award higher bonuses and they resent having to pay higher salaries. The effect on the economy will be tiny; to use the word "boost"



is hyperbole, pure boosterism of the type we got all too used to with Boris Johnson and now it seems with Truss, in fact.



**They may find it easier to pay their school fees and to pay for the foreign villa, but quite where trickle down to the rest of us applies is hard to fathom**



There is a logical argument for the bar being removed. It restricts the ability of banks to move their staff around, that they might think twice about sending someone from New York, say, to London, if they must pay a higher salary to make up for the bonus being only two times. Equally, though, there is a logical argument as to why it was imposed in the first place.

The cap was introduced by David Cameron, a Conservative prime minister no less, after the crisis of 2008. That disaster was brought about by banks behaving recklessly and greedily, speculating wildly in the chase for ever bigger earnings.

Barely 14 years after the world was almost brought to its knees and after a fortune in taxpayers' cash was consumed by bailing out the banks and public services were slashed to pay for it all, here we are again.

As well as boosting the economy, we're told that dropping the cap is part of the "Brexit dividend", that in the EU they keep a tight lid on bankers' bonuses but that in the UK, that will no longer apply. A dividend for who? For a small number of City high rollers, that is all.



It's apparent that Truss is pursuing the "trickle down" effect, the concept that says benefiting those at the top reaps gains below. Again, where the bankers' bonuses are concerned, this is rubbish – they may find it easier to pay their school fees and to pay for the foreign villa, but quite where trickle down to the rest of us applies is hard to fathom.

Alarming, too, is the claim being made (and again, repeated ad nauseam by government supporters and an unquestioning press) that the chancellor is intent on a "Big Bang 2.0", that other curbs the City does not like will also be relaxed. No detail is forthcoming. There is a case for some of those rules being eased, but it depends on what they are – equally, some of them were introduced for a sound reason and the danger is that in the rush to give the City what it desires, the rationale for their introduction will be forgotten.

What much of this suggests is that Truss and Kwarteng have targeted the City for nurturing and advancement. In a sense, amen to that, as financial services represent a true British success story. Anything that can be done to further that prosperity, while keeping it safe, is to be welcomed.

The City though is easy pickings and affects a few. It's to be hoped they're prepared to try and grow the economy by other means.

To be rushing to end the bankers' bonus cap while household bills are soaring and trade unions are agitating for pay increases is politically tone deaf. This raises the worrying prospect that Truss, Kwarteng and their colleagues are in hock to donors and friends, pleased to receive plaudits from this small group, that they cannot see beyond to the wider picture. Certainly, to be doing this so soon, right now, does not augur well.

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# Rush to ‘show respect’ has disrespected so many others

Football wanted to make the right statement after the death of the Queen – it instead created confusion and disruption



Chelsea held a minute's silence ahead of their Champions League match on Wednesday – but they are one of six clubs to go a month without playing a Premier League fixture (Getty)

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**MIGUEL DELANEY**

CHIEF FOOTBALL WRITER

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Before the Premier League made its initial decision to postpone last weekend's fixtures, the board changed its mind four times. It



set a tone for the week, but perhaps not of the solemnity that had been intended. There has mostly been confusion, conflicted feelings, and a sense of every decision actually misjudging the timing or the very mindset of the nation. The latter was certainly the case as regards the reaction to the weekend off, where it quickly became apparent the vast majority wanted to play. It's carried on like that.

When news broke of how the Premier League would be showing respect to the Queen this weekend, one involved source immediately remarked that “it’s a bit much”. Many felt the same.

The Premier League made its announcement two days after the English Football League but went way beyond its lesser partner. While the EFL has opted for a simple minute’s silence and black armband, the Premier League is also adding a 70th-minute applause with managers encouraged to wear suits and lead out the teams. Some involved have been quipping about how much criticism their bosses would get if they risked wearing a tracksuit.

But then what might be said drives a large part of this story, even as so much of it is about being seen to do.

For all that football has attempted to make the right statement as regards the Queen, the response has instead said an awful lot more about the game’s sense of self and its relationship with the establishment and wider society.

There’s been a lot of symbolism, to go alongside so many images of the departed monarch.

There was, first of all, that servile manner in which the so-called people’s game felt it had to stop playing, at the same time shutting down an entire economy so many of those same people were dependent on, while all of the establishment’s sports continued without a second’s thought. The Premier League effectively cleared space for all other sports and domestic leagues to enjoy a bit of attention. The game, it could be said, knew its place.



Much has been said of how football is so wealthy it can weather the losses others can't, but that isn't even the half of it. If you were to add up the cost of all the cancellations to everyone affected – from zero-hours contract workers and supporters crossing Britain on trains to Napoli and PSV Eindhoven fans – the figures would genuinely be frightening. It is the sort of money people just shouldn't be needlessly losing in a cost of living crisis, especially since football is supposed to be an escape.



Anfield held a moment's silence ahead of Liverpool's match against Ajax (Liverpool FC/Getty)

Some figures involved in the discussions talk of a game that “got lost in its own self-importance”. The guiding consideration for all decisions, according to one source, was “what Tory opinion pages might say”.

“It’s all about the brand,” was the added comment. The Premier League, in effect, became another corporation looking to ensure its messaging was right.

It just completely overlooked the wider sentiment. The Premier League got it badly wrong for one, which did leave some in the competition’s clubs a touch gleeful. “It serves them right,” one source said of the backlash.

That was something it was unprepared for. It was around 24 hours after that initial backlash ignited that word filtered out that a primary consideration was how Liverpool or Celtic fans might respond to any shows of respect or minute’s silences.

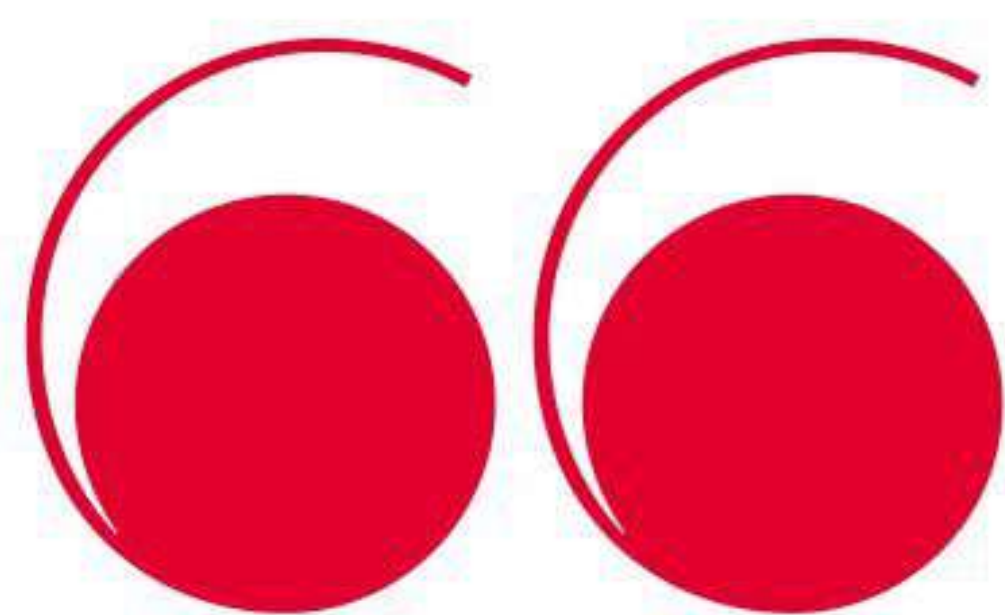


That, put bluntly, is preposterous – but not because some people might have booed. It should first of all be stressed that many within Liverpool and Celtic felt this was a “dead cat” argument, an easy deflection after a mistake.

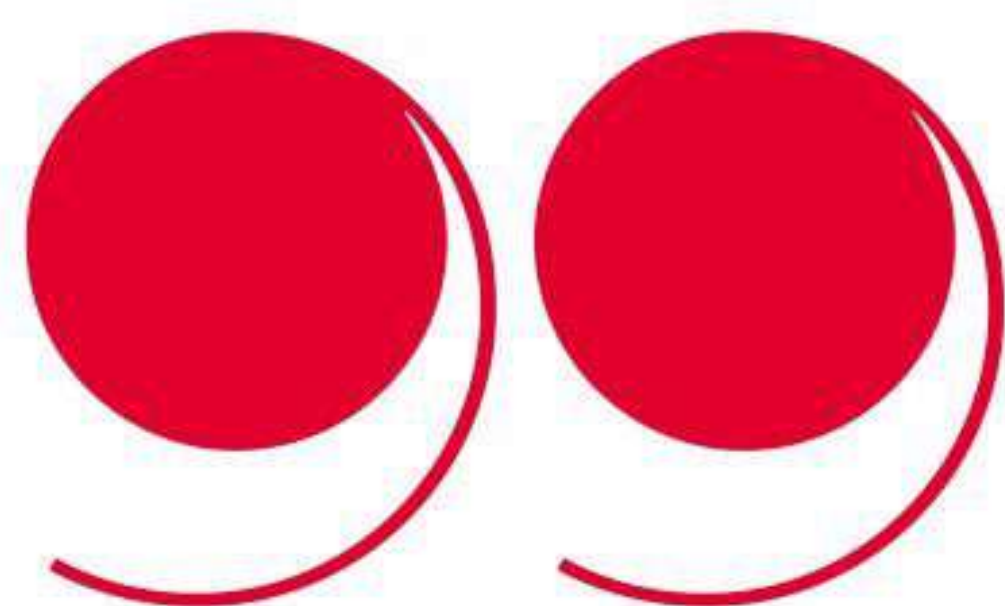
Even if it’s true, though, it’s an absurdity. Consider what it means, beyond the failure of football to trust its own fans. Can the national game really not handle even a few dissenting voices?

Is football really attempting to enforce mourning, or conformity of behaviour, or else you don’t get to play? Should football not be precisely the sort of space that welcomes dissent and supporter expression? That should be implicit in its universality.

Even if supporters want to shout, it should be their own issue to deal with, not that of the sport. Is it the people’s game or the establishment’s?



**Football looks like it is reflecting wider society in the wrong way. It has taken too ostentatious an approach towards respect, disproportionately disrupting people’s lives**



That’s football as a brand, and needing to be seen to do the right thing, rather than an extension of the support from which it developed.

There was even a hint of this in the comments of the normally judicious Gareth Southgate when he named his England squad.



The press conference for that, it should be noted, was cancelled out of “deep respect”. Simple respect wasn't enough.

“We recognise the country is still in a period of mourning and my thoughts remain with the royal family,” Southgate noted, all too fairly so far. “While it is important to explain some of our decisions around selection, we didn't feel it appropriate to hold a full press conference, when it might divert attention from where people's minds should be at this time.”

There's no real getting away from the fact that “where people's minds *should* be” is a pretty loaded phrase in itself. That sums up the mood of the week.

None of this is to even adopt an anti-monarchist or republican position. The measures the game could have taken were obvious. Since everyone predicted on 8 September that policing issues could see games postponed this weekend, the fixtures could easily have been played last week, while offering an appropriate show of respect with black armbands in the way other sports did. There could even have been some additional pageantry to recognise the role of the Queen as president of the FA. That would have allowed a more flexible approach to this weekend, one that more people would have understood.

As it is, football looks like it is reflecting wider society in the wrong way. It has taken too ostentatious an approach towards respect, disproportionately disrupting people's lives, and serving to irritate more supporters than it might have. For football, read the BBC, and all the various quips about its rolling coverage.





**England and Gareth Southgate will pay their tribute ahead of the match against Germany later this month (The FA/Getty)**

There have also been a lot of unintended consequences to go with the more serious real-world cost to so many people.

There's first of all the chaos to the calendar, already a farce due to a winter World Cup. There's most of all the fact that six clubs – Brighton, Chelsea, Crystal Palace, Leeds United, Liverpool and Manchester United – will now go a month without playing in their domestic league. Some aren't too aggrieved with that, mind, given it has almost allowed some managers extended mid-season camps to work on their squads. Graham Potter almost gets a pre-season. Jurgen Klopp gets a reset. Erik ten Hag gets even more time to reshape Manchester United. Brighton have meanwhile been afforded the time and space to appoint a new manager without the pressure of a relentless series of fixtures. All of this could have an effect on those games, too.

It has certainly been self-defeating for the Premier League in another sense. On quite a base level, this had been a season that started better than most. It had been breathless, with brilliant games and genuine drama constantly adding to gripping storylines, amplifying it all. It felt like almost every match had something big on it. That has already been disrupted, and there is at least the potential that the Premier League has needlessly taken the momentum out of its own season. It has certainly put more obstacles in place, mostly in the form of fixture congestion.



At least the kids get to play again this weekend. Their simple running on some grass represents a welcome release from so much confusion.

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# Wolves need ‘animal’ Costa for some much-needed bite



Lage's newest signing needs to bring prolificness as well as provocation (Wolves/Twitter)

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**RICHARD JOLLY**

SENIOR FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

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Diego Costa admitted he was “scared to death”. Not, admittedly, by the prospect of Premier League defenders, by the sight of a fixture list that could contain clashes with such frightening



figures as John Stones, Cesar Azpilicueta and Steve Cook; after all, the heyday of the hatchet man has passed, with most outlawed into extinction by more stringent refereeing.

No, perhaps the most deliberately intimidating striker in recent Premier League history was terrified by his co-stars in a moody masterpiece of an unveiling video: a pack of wolves. “Holding that chain, I kept thinking, 'What if this wolf thinks about jumping on top of me?' and then three of them did,” Costa said; a debut against Manchester City on Saturday is only possible because he survived the experience.

His past and his reputation meant he had to suffer. His new employers seized the opportunity to announce the signing of a footballer indelibly associated with ferocity. There may be no more perfect synergy of a player and a club’s nickname than Costa and Wolves. A couple of years ago, Jose Mourinho described him as an “animal”. It was a compliment. Bruno Lage’s wolf pack have felt too nice to merit the term, these neat, technically accomplished passers who appeared inoffensive. Costa always offered the threat of random violence and the promise of menace even if his tally of Premier League red cards actually stands at zero. Somehow, the striker he is now understudying, the enviably amiable Raul Jimenez, was sent off twice himself. Implausibly, perhaps the Mexican is the bad boy of the double act.

But Costa’s return to England may be welcomed by those who felt the Premier League had become too refined in his absence. Costa is back, ready to bring an idiosyncratic blend of snidery and shithousery, intent on conducting running battles, turning football matches into grudge matches while also scoring goals.

Whether he can still do the more prosaic part and find the net is a moot point. Given their barren spells, Wolves actually need a prolific forward more than a provocative one. They have contrived to average under a goal a game over their last 102 Premier League matches. These particular Wolves have lacked bite.



Costa is an eye-catching addition, his outsized personality making him the antidote to many of his new and quieter teammates. The reality is that he is also a signing stemming from desperation. He was just above Andy Carroll on the shortlist of the free and unwanted they compiled when the deadline-day buy Sasa Kalajdzic was injured on his debut.

Costa has not played in 2022. He has made 19 appearances in 20 months. In more than five years since his last Chelsea appearance, he has played 100 club games and only scored 24 goals. A late developer also seems to have declined early. In between, he was brilliant. His peak came in a five-season period between 2012 and 2017 when he reached the Champions League final and won La Liga with Atletico Madrid, claimed two Premier League titles with Chelsea and scored 115 goals. He was a totemic, talismanic figure, the bruiser who led from the front.

He was probably the last quintessential Mourinho player, with his hints of malevolence, fondness for confrontation and willingness to be unpopular. He was a still more archetypal Diego Simeone footballer, a snarling warrior who felt a face of pragmatism, even if some of his feuds were more personal than pragmatic. Along the way, teammates suggested Costa was actually a pleasant type and a joker, but those were not images he often portrayed on the pitch.

There is a case for saying Chelsea have never properly replaced him: given Costa's attempts to league for much of the 2016-17 season and his subsequent decline, Antonio Conte may have been right to discard him, though a 27-word text message to inform the striker he was not in his plans was an undignified way to end an explosive Chelsea career.

Since then, the shift in footballing fashions has meant his prime has felt more like another era. Subsequent Premier League champions have had a sleeker striker, in Sergio Aguero, or false nines, not a Costa-type target man. Wolves may require a penalty-box presence, someone with aerial ability and a foil to their flair players, though they also need the finisher Jimenez was before he fractured his skull.



Part of the concern with Costa is that his game relied on a physicality that age, inactivity and general decay have dented. There is a comparison with a former teammate, also born in Brazil, also reliant on his power and now in his dotage: Willian was hugely effective for Chelsea, utterly ineffective for Arsenal as he lost some of his speed and has now returned to the Premier League with Fulham. He, too, was signed on a free transfer, after the window had shut, after a forgettable spell in his homeland.

The Premier League can stage some unlikely comebacks; if Costa's return feels improbable, however, the stranger part may be if he can recapture the brilliance he showed for Chelsea. The division's throwback villain will aim to be the force of old but may just look a curious anachronism.

*Wolves vs Manchester City; **TV** (BT Sport 1, 12.30pm)*

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# Improving Everton search for more proof of progress



Everton are showing signs of improvement under Frank Lampard but are still without a league win this season (EPA)

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**RICHARD JOLLY**

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The first anniversary of a high point in Rafael Benitez's ill-fated reign at Goodison Park does not fall until 25 September but, in one respect, a year is already up. Since Everton beat Norwich 2-



0 to go fifth, they have played 38 league games. And over the equivalent of a full campaign, they have won just seven.

None of those victories have come this season and, as they meet a West Ham team furnished with Moyesian stubbornness, they may complete a calendar year with a mere seven triumphs. If football is famously a results business, it may not explain why Everton, often a byword for impatience and unhappiness in recent years, seem strangely united and optimistic.

They are the best winless side in the Premier League (which, as Leicester are the only other one, may not be saying much), but if it is an indication that conjuring triumphs is difficult in a division where virtually everyone appears significantly stronger after their summer trading, there are other factors.

Six games represent a small sample size. In Everton's case, two of the three at home were against Chelsea and Liverpool, leaving only one that looked particularly winnable. They began the campaign in a state of disrepair, short of signings, with Dominic Calvert-Lewin injured a few days before the opening game and three more players hurt in their opening two matches. They lost both.

Since then, they have drawn all four. Only the Manchester clubs and Tottenham are also unbeaten in the same time and if that involves a selective use of statistics, it at least points to a new-found resilience. Part of Everton's problem last season was that they were too beatable. Their 21 defeats meant they went from September to April without mustering a two-game unbeaten run. Now they seem to have more substance.

With Everton ninth for shots and joint 17th for goals, the sense is that Calvert-Lewin's absence has cost them a win, if not two, and Frank Lampard believes his side merit a points tally closer to double figures. The counter-argument is that Everton's defensive record, the joint best outside the top four, is flatteringly good; both Brentford and Liverpool hit Everton's woodwork three times, Jordan Pickford has made the second most saves in the league, some of them spectacular, and had his form been merely average then their points tally may be



halved. If he is sidelined now, it creates the possibility that draws are turned back into defeats.

But the closeness of their games shows a competitiveness: they have two fewer wins than Bournemouth, but the Cherries have a goal difference of minus 13. Everton's is just minus two.

Moreover, if improvement has been rapid since the embarrassment of a 4-0 hammering at the hands of Minnesota in pre-season prompted Lampard to raise the spectre of relegation, it has been accompanied by evidence of a plan and the ability to implement one.

“Compromise is a word for last season; for me as a coach it was a great experience to try and find a way,” Lampard said and he did, but the escape from relegation provided fewer answers about what he stood for or if he had longer-term solutions to fix Everton.



Onana, left, has shown the potential to indicate why Lampard brought him to Goodison Park (AFP/Getty)

The summer has provided some clues; in imbuing team spirit and showing common-sense thinking, Lampard has not brought managerial genius but he has lent a welcome clarity of thought. He inherited a squad packed with the injury prone and, in James Tarkowski, Conor Coady and Dwight McNeil, targeted those with excellent fitness records. He felt he had too few leaders, which could be exacerbated when Seamus Coleman is phased out, but Tarkowski and Coady have remedied that. They could make a difference in another respect: Everton conceded more



league goals last season than in any in the preceding six decades but promise to be tighter at the back now.

Lampard picked up on Jamie Carragher's criticism in March that too many Everton players couldn't run. Fabian Delph, static but authoritative, helped keep Everton up but left while Allan, one of those Carragher named, is yet to play a minute this season. Meanwhile, the return of Idrissa Gueye has added athleticism; as they tend to have less possession, despite Lampard's intention to play through the thirds and bringing in two centre backs who are comfortable on the ball, that mobility becomes still more important. If Everton's threat, especially in Calvert-Lewin's absence, has come from the counterattacking speed of Demarai Gray and Anthony Gordon. Everton have got both into scoring positions. Each is in the top 20 in the division for shots and the Merseysider's two well taken goals suggest his finishing is improving.

Lampard's fondness for young players is famous; impressively, though, several, from Gordon to full backs Nathan Patterson and Vitalii Mykolenko, appear to be developing on his watch. Perhaps the most gifted of all, Amadou Onana, has shown the vast potential to indicate why Lampard made him his biggest buy. He had to split his budget several ways but there are early signs that his eight signings will yield several successes and that a few judgement calls have been justified.

If part of the objective is to move beyond a side who cling on in games to one who can play on the front foot more, the switch from three centre backs to two represented a sign of ambition. It has not yet brought a win and, with in-form Manchester United and Tottenham in their next four, the wait could become onerous. If draws and defeats may seem to offer scant proof of progress, for now Everton sense a year of worse results could lead to better days.

*Everton vs West Ham; TV (Sky Sports PL, tomorrow 2.15pm)*

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# Arsenal beat Brighton with dominant display in opener

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**Arsenal Women**

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Little (28), Blackstenius (50), Mead (63, 83)

**Brighton & Hove Albion Women**0

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Beth Mead scored twice last night as the north London club opened the Women's Super League season (Getty)

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**PA SPORT STAFF**

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England star Beth Mead scored a brace as Arsenal opened their Barclays Women's Super League campaign with a dominant 4-0 victory over Brighton. Forty-eight days after England's historic Euro 2022 triumph against Germany at Wembley, the WSL season opened at a sold-out Meadow Park after last week's scheduled round of fixtures was postponed due to the death of the Queen.

Lionesses' captain Leah Williamson and golden boot winner Mead were back in the spotlight, and back on the winning side, as Arsenal cruised to all three points.

Brighton were already facing an uphill task to take anything away from last night's fixture following eight defeats in eight matches against the Gunners. And the visitors' evening was thrown into disarray when Emma Kullberg was shown a straight red after just seven minutes.

With Stina Blackstenius storming in on Brighton's goal, Kullberg tripped her Swedish compatriot, and referee Lisa Benn was left with little option other than to dismiss the beleaguered defender.

Jonas Eidevall's side, who fell just a point short of beating Chelsea to last season's title, were thrust into complete control and the breakthrough came on 28 minutes when Kim Little struck, moments after Elisabeth Terland spurned a chance to put the Seagulls ahead.



Kullberg's red card gave Brighton an uphill task (Getty Images)



Terland was afforded a rare sight of the Arsenal goal, but pulled her effort wide. Ninety seconds later, the home side capitalised. Caitlin Foord dazzled down the Gunners' left and her pinpoint pull-back was expertly converted by Scotland international Little.

Arsenal came close to doubling their lead when Blackstenius rattled the crossbar four minutes later, with Megan Walsh then denying Lia Walti following a fine save on the stroke of half-time. Somehow Hope Powell's Brighton were only one goal behind at the break.

But five minutes into the second half, Blackstenius put the result beyond doubt when she scored Arsenal's second. Mead put the ball on a plate for Blackstenius and the Sweden international lashed her shot into the roof of the net.



Little scored the first goal of the 2022-23 season (PA)

Mead was named the player of the tournament at the Euros after scoring six times on England's run to glory. And she found the back of the net shortly after the hour mark. Little and Vivianne Miedema were involved in the build-up with Mead coolly slotting home.

With nine minutes remaining, Jordan Nobbs' shot hit the woodwork, before Mead pounced on a fine save from Walsh to score for a second time in front of 3,238 fans – and fire an early



title warning to rivals' Chelsea who travel to Liverpool tomorrow.

PA

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# Garcia leaves dented legacy after defection to LIV Golf



Garcia was once the face of European golf but his supreme legacy has surely now been overtaken (AFP/Getty)

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**JACK RATHBORN**

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Amid a raucous atmosphere at Texas vs Alabama last weekend, a surprise visitor emerged onto the field: Sergio Garcia. As the Spanish golfer soaked up the best of college football, golf was left to digest the sheer contempt shown to the DP World Tour 48 hours after strutting around Wentworth. Garcia swiftly withdrew from the prestigious BMW PGA Championship after a scrappy



four-over-par opening round of 76, leaving him 12 shots adrift of the leaders.

We can all imagine Garcia's frustration, faced with a mountain to climb in pursuit of the cut and those precious world ranking points now craved more than ever before by most LIV Golf players, who are stuck in a precarious position when it comes to next year's majors. A speedy exit, while somewhat distasteful, was understandable, flaunting so soon without a proper explanation was the latest example of a legacy dented in recent years. Garcia was once the face of European golf and can point to a green jacket in 2017 and his formidable Ryder Cup record as Europe's leading points scorer. But those shimmering moments have quickly descended into the darkness since racing towards LIV Golf and the murky source of its Saudi millions.

A supreme legacy has surely now been overtaken, and not merely for accepting the exorbitant sums of money being shot out of a cannon. No, there are examples of players, such as Harold Varner III, who have sheepishly pushed out statements and salvaged respect despite prompting disappointment from some.

"I can't wait to leave this tour. I can't wait to get out of here," Garcia said back in May at the Wells Fargo before his inevitable departure to LIV Golf. "A couple of more weeks and I won't have to deal with you anymore."

A relatively harmless squabble over a ruling merely brushes the surface of an unsavoury run, with remorse usually hard to find. From destroying tee markers and spitting to the prescient act of petulance in Saudi Arabia when he scuffed multiple greens, earning himself disqualification.

Garcia's swift departure from Surrey to Austin is the latest example of his actions and consequences. His silence suggests he has not yet met the criteria to withdraw by providing "emergency reasons or medical circumstances deemed reasonable by the tournament director".





**Sergio Garcia reacts to a wayward iron shot during his opening round at Wentworth (AFP/Getty)**

The sheer awkwardness is visible in each mixed field between DP World Tour and PGA Tour players and \*them\*, with Shane Lowry admitting this week to a palpable tension at Wentworth. Even friends and compatriots may drift apart. Jon Rahm made a point of how certain players turning up at Wentworth had irked him because his good friend Alfredo García-Heredia, battling to stay afloat in golf's ecosystem, was the first reserve.

LIV Golf afforded Garcia the opportunity to earn more and play less, and yet like many, he wanted to have his cake and eat it, to swan over the Atlantic and amass world ranking points to gain entry to majors beyond Augusta, where he has a lifetime of starts. A five-year exemption to the US Open, the Open and the PGA Championship has expired and Garcia is perilously tumbling down the rankings, currently 77th at the time of writing.

You can imagine the impending fine from the DP World Tour will do little to alter Garcia's ways, with the 42-year-old teeing it up in LIV Golf's fifth event in Chicago this weekend. After a slow start, finishing 24th and 26th in London and Portland, Garcia has two top-10 finishes in succession in the 48-man limited-field events. And yet, his middle of the road showings have seen him earn \$1.6m (£1.4m) over just four outings – Lowry earned £1.18m (\$1.36m) for winning at Wentworth on Sunday.



Rory McIlroy further illustrated a consequence of golf's bitter divide, commenting on his relationship with the likes of Ian Poulter, Lee Westwood and Garcia and whether it can endure golf's feud.

"I have no idea. I wouldn't say I've got much of a relationship with them at the minute," said the world No 2. "They are here. They are playing the tournament. My opinion is they shouldn't be."

McIlroy's candidness doesn't appear to make Garcia and co too uncomfortable though, even if the four-time major winner reiterated: "I don't think any of those guys should be on the Ryder Cup team. I think we were in need of a rebuild, anyway. We did well with the same guys for a very long time but again as I just said, everything comes to an end at some point."

This week, the cream of the DP World Tour glean just what is in store for those involved in next year's Ryder Cup at Marco Simone Golf & Country Club on the outskirts of Rome. Garcia in his race back to Texas and on to Chicago might well have left his legacy behind.

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# Why Canelo trilogy may be all or nothing for Golovkin

A controversial draw and cruel defeat are all the Kazakh has to show for two fine showings against the Mexican fighter



Gennady Golovkin (left) during his 2018 rematch with Saul 'Canelo' Alvarez (Getty)

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**ALEX PATTLE**

COMBAT SPORTS CORRESPONDENT

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When Saul “Canelo” Alvarez and Gennady Golovkin first shared a ring in September 2017, the hardest punch that landed that night seemed to be the overhand right that the Mexican catapulted onto the chin of “GGG”, midway through the ninth round. The velocity and impact were frightening in equal measure, but not as much as Golovkin’s stoic expression as he twisted his head back to face Canelo and continued to plod towards the younger fighter – an unmoved, unimpressed, undeterred Terminator.

While that punch has gone down as one of the great viral moments of this generation in boxing, some would argue that the hardest shot to land that night in Las Vegas was the gut punch to Golovkin and his supporters when the result of his middleweight title fight with Canelo was revealed. Despite the Kazakh leading the dance with near constant forward pressure and compiling a collection of cleaner punches than his opponent, GGG was only a 115-113 winner on one scorecard. The others read 114-114 and a stupefying 118-110 in Canelo’s favour.

Twelve months later, the pair returned to the T-Mobile Arena in a bid to provide clarity where none was actually needed, only for judging to once again frustrate Golovkin more than any of Canelo’s offence or defence. Alvarez was declared a majority-decision winner – a 115-113 victor on two scorecards, while the other read 114-114. The fight was an instant classic, undoubtedly closer than the rivals’ first, but a significant proportion of observers had Golovkin winning again. To add insult to perceived injustice, the rematch had taken place four months later than planned after Canelo tested positive for the banned substance clenbuterol.





Golovkin (right) out-struck Canelo in their first fight, which ended as a draw (Getty Images)

And so Golovkin had emerged from two fights against the ordained face of boxing with a defeat – the first of his professional career – and a draw, despite a consensus that he had won one of those contests, if not both.

Now four years on, at the age of 40, Golovkin will once again enter the T-Mobile Arena for a September showdown with Canelo in hopes of documenting a victory over his rival in the official files, not just in the minds of fans. Age is not on the unassumingly brutal boxer's side, nor is weight as he moves up to challenge Canelo.

The strange truth is this: For as compelling as Canelo vs GGG II was, and for as interesting as their initial clash was, this trilogy bout feels untimely, unnecessary, and unfair on Golovkin.

Even those who clamoured for a third fight between Canelo and GGG would have wished to have seen it sooner after their initial rematch, not four years on, but the factors that were off-putting then remain so now.





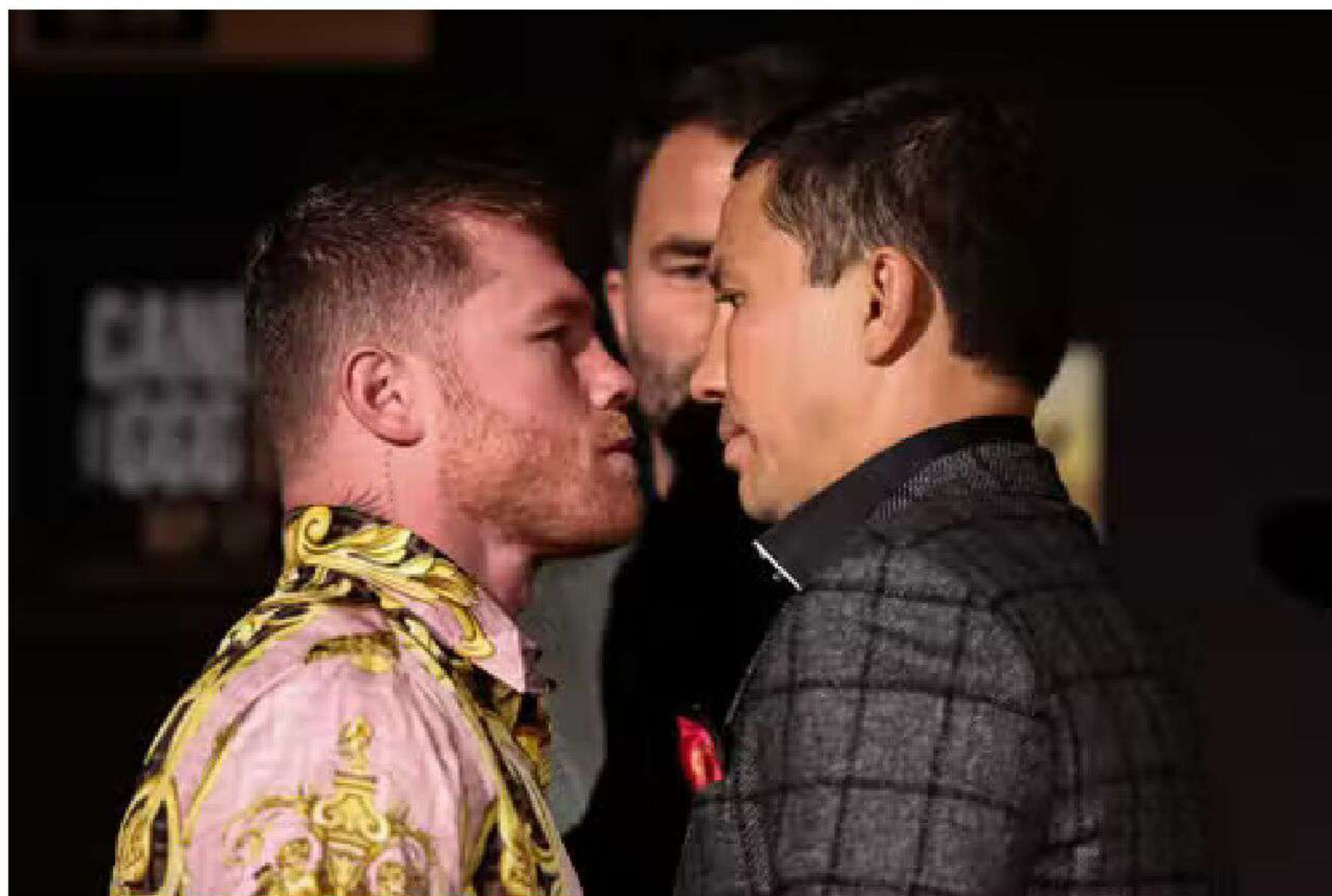
GGG again out-punched Canelo in their 2018 rematch, though the Mexican landed more power punches (Getty)

Thirty-seven of Golovkin's 42 wins have seen the Kazakh, mild-mannered out of the ring but malicious in it, crumple his opponents. His first two meetings with Alvarez, however, have seemingly proven that the Mexican's notoriously stern chin can absorb even Golovkin's most ferocious output. At GGG's advanced age, relative to the sport, power only wanes; a knockout shot is likely further out of his reach now than it was in 2017 and 2018. The first two Canelo-GGG fights also apparently proved that Golovkin is not going to get the nod on the judges' scorecards; if that were going to happen, it would have done so five years ago, if not four as well. And while Golovkin has shown a remarkable resilience to Canelo's best offense, as with the way he no-sold the afore-mentioned Alvarez haymaker in their first bout, that resilience might just show signs of recession this time around.

That is the fear in fans of Golovkin: that he will come away from this famous trilogy with two defeats and a draw, though his performances will have warranted so much more. That is, of course, to preempt the outcome of tonight's (early tomorrow morning, UK time) trilogy bout, but the majority expect Canelo to finally earn a clear win against Golovkin, potentially even a stoppage that could drastically alter perceptions of this great rivalry and lead to an unfortunate revisionism of GGG's career.

And it all stems from that first encounter with Canelo.





Canelo and Golovkin face off ahead of their impending trilogy fight (Getty)

Alvarez could afford his decision defeat by Floyd Mayweather in 2013; his first professional loss, to a much more experienced opponent no less, only slightly stunted the 23-year-old's growth into Mayweather's successor. He could even afford his defeat by Dmitry Bivol this May, his first loss since the Mayweather result, due to the respect among fans and pundits for the Mexican's bid to win a second light-heavyweight title.

If he had lost that infamous first fight, as many fans and critics alike believe he did, he would have found himself in the position he now occupies five years later: needing a victory to prove himself on the back of a defeat. Then in turn perhaps more observers would have accepted a close decision win for Canelo in the rematch, and a trilogy fight would have felt more genuine.

Instead, the rivals return to the same venue, in the same month as their first two fights, with the same outcome seeming inevitable: Golovkin coming away with less than he deserves – this time, with less than his career would deserve.

*Canelo vs GGG; stream on DAZN (tomorrow, approx 1am)*

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# Sport news in brief



James Donaldson of Leeds Rhinos is tackled by Sam Powell of Wigan Warriors in the semi-final yesterday (Getty)

## Leeds stun Wigan to reach Super League Grand Final

Leeds produced a remarkable display of grit and determination yesterday to condemn 12-man Wigan to a first home defeat of the season and reach an 11th Super League Grand Final. The Rhinos were under the cosh for virtually the whole of the first half of the semi-final at the DW Stadium but managed to restrict their opponents to a 4-2 interval lead before finding their attacking rhythm in the second half.

Makeshift hooker Jarrod O'Connor scored his first try for the club and former St Helens second rower James Bentley added



two more to help Leeds to a stunning 20-8 victory that took them through to Old Trafford next Saturday. For Leeds, reaching their first Grand Final for five years must rank among the biggest achievements in the history of the competition. They were second from bottom of Super League in April after winning just one of their first 10 games but go to Old Trafford in buoyant mood after enjoying a remarkable revival under Rohan Smith.

*PA*

### **Ramsey goal eases pressure on Villa**

Jacob Ramsey fired Aston Villa to a 1-0 win over Southampton last night. The midfielder's first goal of the season lifted Villa to 13th, level on points with their visitors, and eased pressure on manager Steven Gerrard. The hosts built on their point against Manchester City with a workmanlike display while Saints slipped to a third defeat in four games to leave legitimate questions over the future of boss Ralph Hasenhuttl. *PA*

### **Fulham's comeback condemns Forest to fourth straight defeat**

Tosin Adarabioyo, Joao Palhinha and Harrison Reed struck within a heady six-minute passage of play as Fulham edged out Nottingham Forest in a five-goal thriller. Nigeria forward Taiwo Awoniyi marked his return to the Forest starting line-up with an 11th-minute opener, but the match took a decisive turn as the hosts conceded three times in quick succession. A shellshocked Forest were unable to stem the onslaught and they shipped their third goal in just over five minutes as Bobby Decordova-Reid centred for Reed to sweep home – the first time he has found the net for Fulham. *PA*

### **Silverstone suspends ticket sales for grand prix**

Silverstone has suspended ticket sales for next year's British Grand Prix after fans labelled the controversial pricing strategy as "obscene". The racetrack was pursuing a "dynamic pricing"



system, where prices for tickets increase in real time depending on demand.

However, fans struggled to progress through the ticketing system on Thursday before Silverstone announced that prices would be “frozen” after their ticketing provider, Secutix, became overwhelmed. The sale will resume on Friday morning at 11:30am. Some fans complained of queuing online for five or six hours and then their payments were not processed correctly, forcing them to start the process all over again.

This year’s British Grand Prix broke attendance records, with 401,000 people attending over the course of the three-day event. *Kieran Jackson*

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# Are fair elections possible?

The first past the post system has plenty of detractors, writes **Mick O'Hare**. Can maths offer us a more proportional way?



Many believe some form of proportional representation is the solution (Getty)

The Electoral Reform Society (ERS), as its name might suggest, is no fan of First Past the Post (FPTP), the system used to elect MPs to the British parliament. But even taking into account its *raison d'être* – to replace FPTP with a system more representative of how the electorate actually votes – its report into the 2019 general election was particularly scathing.

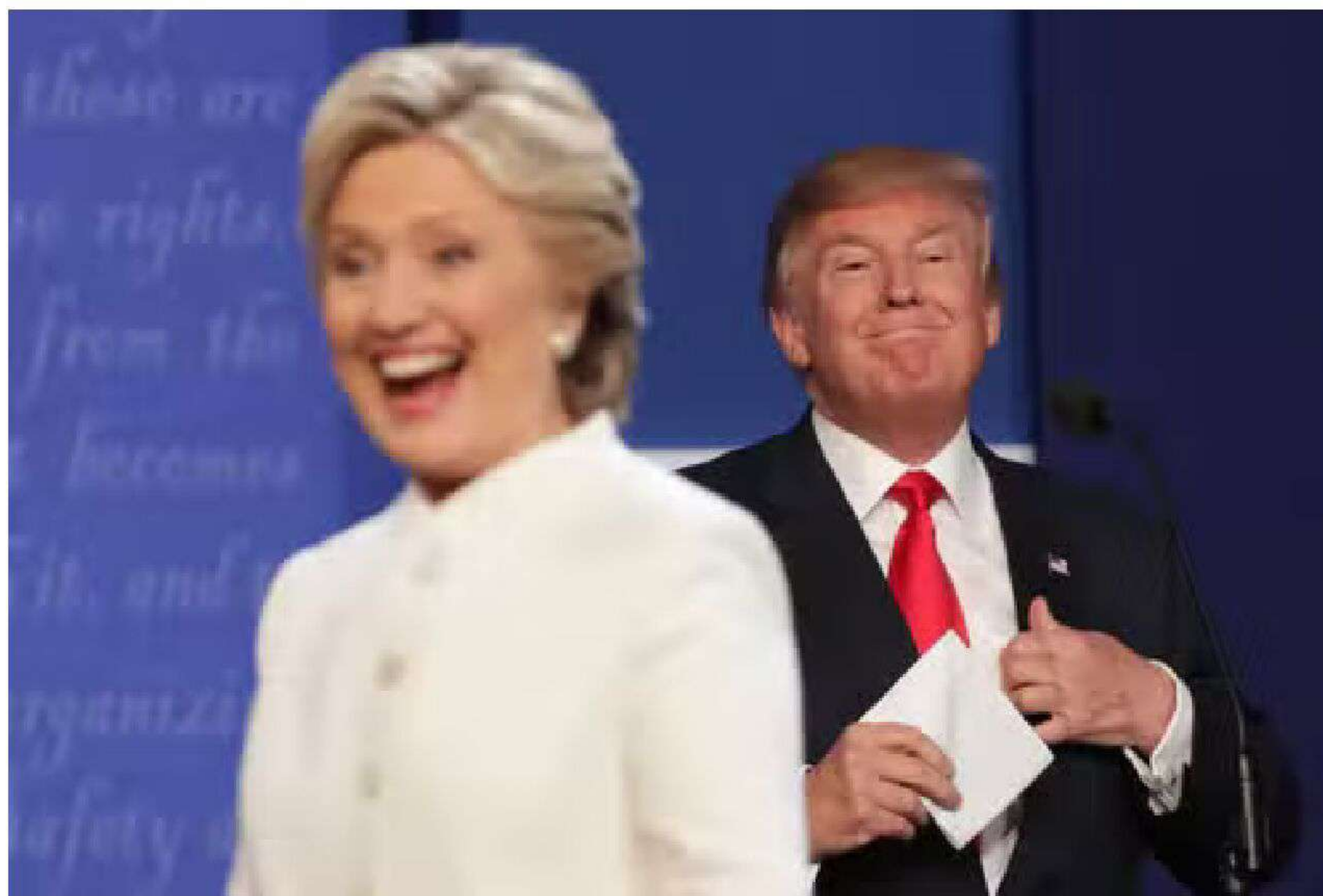


“Rotten”, “dysfunctional”, “disenfranchisement on an industrial scale”, a voting system that is “morally and politically bankrupt” were just a few of its withering criticisms. Aside from FPTP granting the Conservatives an 80-seat majority on only 43.6 per cent of the vote, the report estimated that 14.5 million people (that’s 45 per cent of all voters; more than it took to elect Boris Johnson’s entire government) cast votes for a non-elected candidate, with as many as a third of the electorate forced into attempting to vote tactically. “FPTP is brutal in denying millions of voters any representation at all,” the report concluded.

And there’s more behind that “thumping” mandate the Tories used to “Get Brexit Done”. It took roughly only 38,264 votes to elect each of the 365 Conservative MPs whereas it took 334,122 to elect each of the 11 Liberal Democrats (who, incidentally, increased their vote share by 4.2 per cent but conversely lost 1 seat) and 866,435 to elect the sole Green MP. And if you think that example is chosen to appeal to the more liberal-minded reader, pity the Brexit Party who garnered 644,255 votes for no MPs at all. Had the Brexit Party been the Tories they would have had 17 MPs while the Lib Dems would have had 96. “Smaller parties always lose out under FPTP,” said the report. And so do parties with a wide geographical spread – the Greens only gaining their single MP because of their strong support in one small area of Brighton.

The failures of FPTP are obvious and although the following example is outlandish it demonstrates how a majority UK government can be elected if only 326 people vote for it. The House of Commons is made up of 650 MPs each elected in their own constituencies. The candidate with the most votes in each constituency becomes its MP. There is no requirement to win 50 per cent of the votes and a solitary voter turning out to support just one of the candidates will suffice. This means that if only one person in each of 326 constituencies votes for Party A and nobody else at all votes, then that party will have 326 MPs and a Commons majority. Meanwhile, in the other 324 constituencies Party B could win each seat with 10,000 voting for it while nobody votes for Party A.





Donald Trump beat Hillary Clinton to the US presidency despite receiving 2.8 million fewer votes (Getty)

This would mean that although 3,240,000 people voted for Party B and a mere 326 voted for Party A, Party A would form the government. The 1951 general election produced a result along this general template. Labour won a majority of votes nationally but didn't get to form the government. A more notorious example occurred in 2016 when Donald Trump beat Hillary Clinton to the United States presidency despite receiving 2.8 million fewer votes nationally. FPTP is demonstrably unfair. Even its proponents in the Conservative Party and beyond know it, despite manifesto commitments in favour of retaining it.

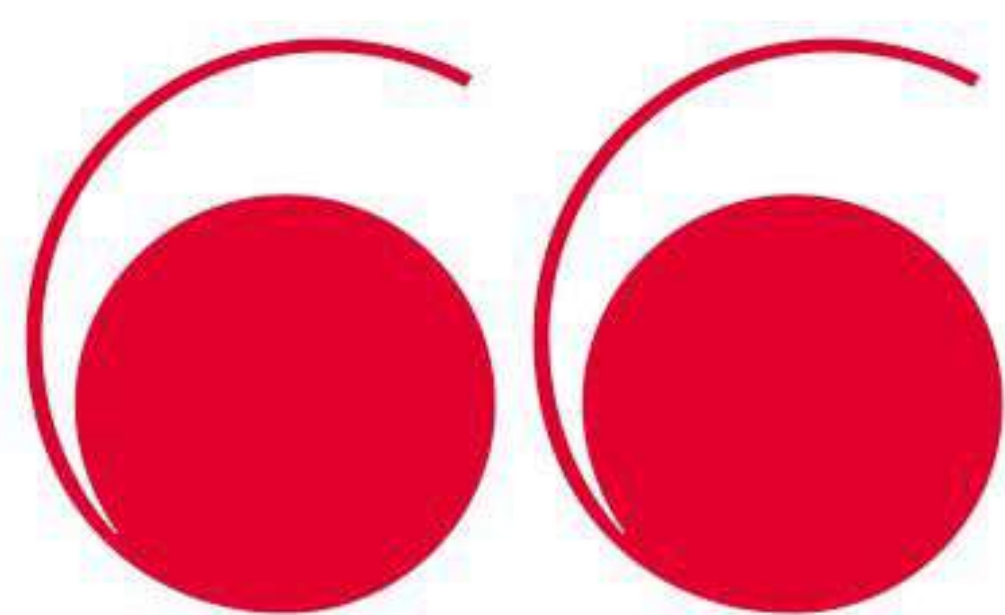
And electoral systems have been thrown back into the spotlight recently following the tedious and arcane system used to elect the new Conservative Party leader. Ironically, considering staunch Tory support for FPTP, new prime minister Liz Truss would have failed to make it into the final round if FPTP rules had applied earlier in the contest. As it was she could only accumulate 81,326 votes from a total Tory party membership of 171,437.

Most progressive political thinkers, although not all, believe some form of proportional representation (PR) is the solution: the number of MPs representing each party in parliament should be linked to the total number of votes the party receives nationwide. But with so many different forms of PR, which would be the most popular among voters? Or, perhaps more

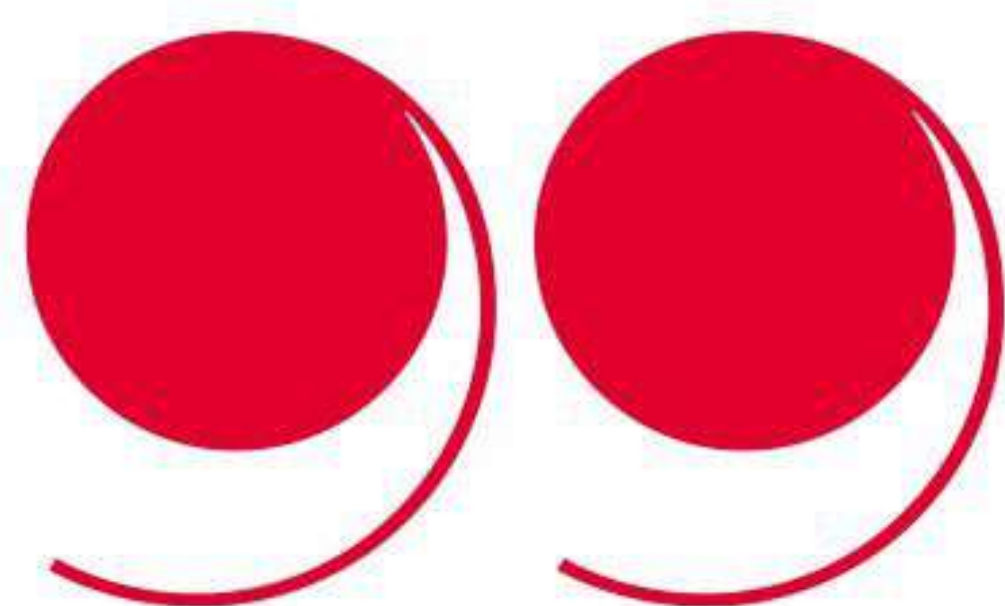


crucially, which would be the fairest? And at this juncture, it's worth noting for the sake of clarity that Britain has never had a referendum on PR although you'll hear some MPs who defend FPTP insisting we have. The 2011 referendum was on whether Britain should adopt the alternative vote system which is about as far removed from PR as is FPTP.

Politicians tend not to base their beliefs on absolutes, relying more on ideology, gut feeling and which policies are likely to amass the most votes. Mathematics is something to be ignored in a world where rhetoric rather than rationality holds sway. Politicians and their supporters are often very passionate about the systems used to elect them – FPTP has many supporters in parliament because that was the very system that put them there in the first place. Likewise, supporters of the various forms of PR are equally fervent. But heartfelt support for a particular voting system doesn't necessarily mean it is a fair one.



**Introducing a 5 per cent cutoff to stop extremist parties often sets the threshold too low but raising this threshold to, say, 15 per cent risks discounting minority parties entirely, negating the purpose of PR**



So how do we sort the equitable from the biased, the impartial from the partisan? Can the cold logic of mathematics, with its objectivity unskewed by interpretive human notions help? Which system of PR might provide us with results that match the intentions, aspirations and desires of the largest number of



voters? In fact, is there a “fairest system of them all” as a politically minded fairytale queen might ask?

Unfortunately, the short answer is no. Well, sort of. *New Scientist's* 2010 report into voting systems carried the headline: “The maths of democracy: why fairness is impossible”. Written by popular-science author Ian Stewart, emeritus professor of mathematics at the University of Warwick, it invoked Arrow’s Impossibility Theorem. Effectively this states that any voting system has to abandon at least one criterion of “fairness” in order to work. It is named after American economist and Nobel laureate Kenneth Arrow. An obvious example of the theorem can be found under the system known as the supplementary vote, used to elect mayors in England. Voters give a first and second choice preference. If the leading candidate doesn’t reach the majority threshold of 50 per cent, the top two candidates go through to a second round and second-preference votes are taken into account.

Let’s assume there are three candidates, one from the extreme right (A), a centrist (B), and one from the extreme left (C). B will almost certainly be either the first or second choice for most voters. But if A and C both accumulate 34 per cent of first choice votes and B only 32 per cent, B would be eliminated in the first round of voting despite being the compromise candidate for nearly every voter. Therefore, an extreme party would be elected against the wishes of 66 per cent of voters.



First past the post helped Boris Johnson secure an 80-seat majority in 2019 (AFP/Getty)



Of course, other systems are available, PR comes in many forms and levels of complexity, and varies depending on whether we are voting for parties or people. The single transferable vote system builds on the supplementary vote with voters ranking all candidates rather than just two, but it suffers from similar flaws. Then there is the Borda count, a points-based system in which voters score their least favourite candidate with 0, their next least favourite with 1 and so on. If there are five candidates their favourite candidate will score 4. It is used in modified form in Iceland and Kiribati. Range voting is similar. Voters give a score to each candidate from 1-10 depending on how much they like or dislike them. The winner is the one with most points. And two-round systems are also commonplace, used mostly to elect presidents as in France.

Additional factors to consider are whether MPs should be elected purely by the number of votes cast for their party (party-list proportional representation used in South Africa and the Netherlands) or should there be a constituency link (the additional member system used in Germany and New Zealand)? There are also questions over whether there should be a cutoff of, say, 5 per cent to ensure parties representing extreme positions are less likely to have parliamentary representation.

Again, maths can find fault with most of these systems. Introducing a 5 per cent cutoff to stop extremist parties often sets the threshold too low but raising this threshold to, say, 15 per cent risks discounting minority parties entirely, negating the purpose of PR (although the disenfranchised 15 per cent could be invited to recast their votes for parties who did make the cut). “A cutoff is not our policy,” says Klina Jordan, CEO of Make Votes Matter (MVM), the national movement for proportional representation in the House of Commons. “In fact, such thresholds have been used to exclude particular ethnic groups from some parliaments, so should only be considered with caution.”

Maths shows that systems in which voters rank candidates or parties by a score fare slightly better – as long as the voter doesn’t try to manipulate the system or, even worse, lie about



their preferences. Voters can give more weight to certain candidates inadvertently or deliberately. Range voting (used in modified form to elect the secretary-general of the United Nations) is especially vulnerable to this. In it, voters rank every candidate from 0-10 with the candidate accumulating the highest score being elected. A centre-left voter might award the centre-left candidate 10, the centre-right candidate 5, the extreme-left candidate 1 and the extreme-right candidate 0.



Supporters of PR burst balloons to highlight the perceived lack of fairness in the voting system (Getty)

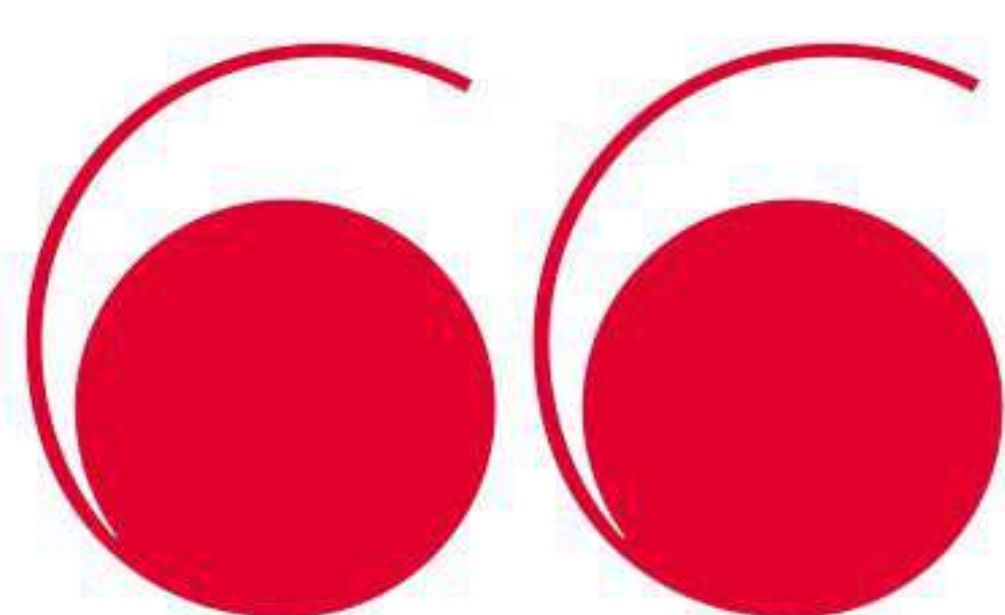
However, if voters aren't honest and simply give their favourite 10 and the rest 0, then it turns into FPTP in all but name. Or if the voter expects the outcome to be close, even if they prefer the centre-right candidate to the other two, they might deliberately give this candidate a lower vote "just to be on the safe side". And, in some cases with long candidate lists, voters might simply get bored and just award candidates any old score. Others just vote from the top of the ballot paper downwards so papers which rotate the order of candidates are necessary. The Borda system counters some of these problems by insisting on a progressive, defined scoring system, but doesn't eliminate them entirely.

Such conundrums are covered by the Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem which augments Arrow's. It has many facets, but essentially takes note of the fact that in any system where candidates or parties are ranked, manipulation – even by a single

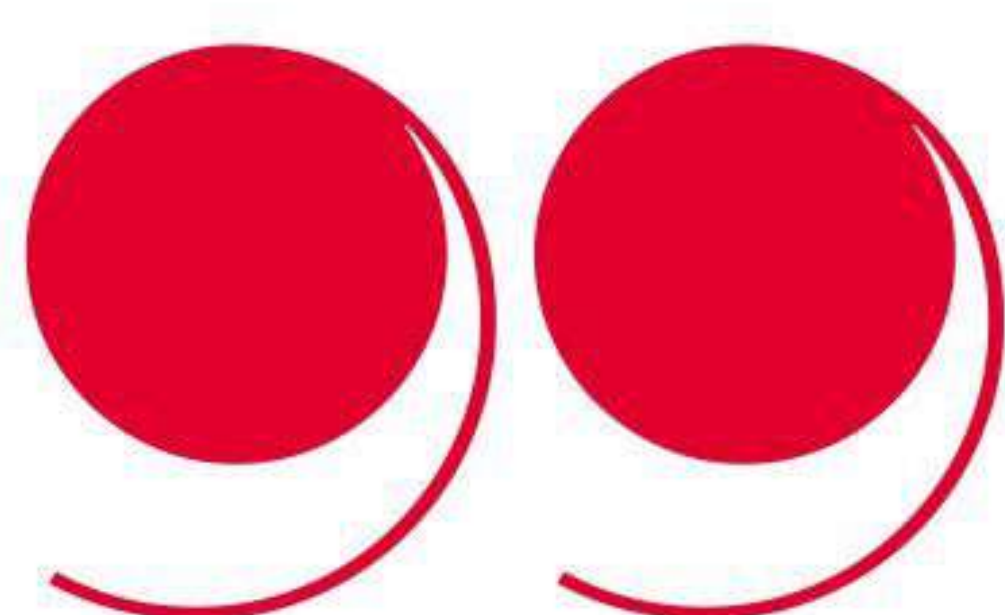


voter – can alter the outcome. It does, however, demonstrate that range voting can be beneficial if only three candidates are standing – however rare that might be in a British general election constituency. If all voters are required to score their favourite candidate 10 and their least favourite 0, then the middle candidate's score will always fall between these two ranges meaning that the effect of “lying” is greatly reduced.

Maths also shows us that elections tend to become “fairer” the more rounds of voting they have, or at least the candidate who is “disliked least” tends to rise to the top, as each candidate who finishes bottom is eliminated. Tactical voting under this system becomes less important as the choice of candidates narrows until one wins an absolute majority. Its drawback is that the candidate who is favoured by the biggest number of electors is often not victorious, but assuming the intention is to replace FPTP – which always elects the candidate favoured by the biggest number of electors whether or not they have an absolute majority – then that might be a lesser consideration.



**There is abundant evidence that FPTP actually results in worse outcomes – social, environmental, economic – than proportional democracies enjoy**



Another system that, on the face of it, seems appealing, is to offer MPs different voting strengths in parliament depending on how many votes it took to elect them. This would still use Britain's current constituency and FPTP system, but with a tweak. If, as we have seen earlier, it takes on average around



38,000 votes to elect a Conservative to parliament but more than 860,000 to elect a Green, that should be reflected when the MP votes in Parliament. However, the mathematical drawback here is that this could give MPs from smaller, more extreme parties (the Greens' Caroline Lucas being an obvious honourable exception) disproportionate influence. "Such a system would exacerbate geographic divides, it would make a minority of MPs excessively powerful and it would do nothing to proportionately represent people who vote for parties with no MPs," adds Jordan.

It seems that all mathematics does is gives us a democratic headache. In fact mathematician, Donald Sarri of the University of California showed some years ago that you can invent a voting system that produces any result you desire, from any particular voting pattern. Nonetheless, once we have established that PR systems have their flaws mathematically, that does not mean that they do not have huge advantages over FPTP. Moving in the direction of "fairness" even if it is ultimately unachievable has to be a goal worth shooting for.

Arrow also drew up an idealised list of what a voter should expect from any system, including the following: voters should be able to express a complete set of their preferences; no single voter should be allowed to dictate the outcome of an election; if every voter prefers one candidate to another, the final ranking should reflect that. He also noted that if a voter prefers candidate A to a second candidate B, introducing a third candidate C should not reverse that preference (for example, voting tactically for B to stop C).

Arrow was building on what is known as the Condorcet winner criterion, named after 18th-century mathematician the Marquis de Condorcet. In simple terms, this states a winning candidate in any vote should be the one who would win a two-candidate election against each of the other candidates. That would, of course, be the ideal scenario but as Arrow's own theorem demonstrates, no system has yet been conceived which fulfils his idealised list and the Condorcet criterion.





The UK's only Green Party MP, Caroline Lucas, turns up to vote in Brighton South (AFP/Getty)

Add these mathematical impossibilities to the other random influences affecting election outcomes such as the money required to run for office, the near impossibility of being elected without party backing, gerrymandering, a lack of impartial information to allow voters to make informed choices (Brexit anyone?), equal voter distribution, candidates unrepresentative of the communities electing them (race, religion, class) and one might despair for democracy.

Any voting system needs to maintain a balance between the conflicting interests, demands and necessities of a diverse population while maintaining stable and effective government that does not veer to political extremes. Evidence shows that constituency MPs, beholden to their local populations, rather than candidates taken from national lists, aids this. It is one benefit of FPTP most voters in Britain would like to maintain, making the German mixed-member system of voting for a local candidate but also a national party attractive. MVM helped to broker the Good Systems Agreement (GSA) with organisations and parties who want PR. Taking evidence from PR systems worldwide, it sets out the key principles of good voting systems. “The GSA requires local links to constituencies,” Jordan says. But even the mixed-member system throws up what are called strategic voting anomalies due to the way votes are allocated – a vote for your favoured local candidate can still be wasted as it is in FPTP.



And, in the final reckoning, who decides what is “fair”? As Ian Stewart wrote in *New Scientist*: “Mathematicians have been studying voting systems for hundreds of years, looking to eliminate sources of bias. And yet what they haven’t done is come up with a foolproof answer. With good reason: one doesn’t exist.” Perhaps the best we can hope for is compromise. “Of course rarely is anything perfect, but most voting systems are better than the one we are lumped with,” says Jordan. “But given the principle that votes should count equally, the best approximations to this ideal are PR systems.”

PR might not be the panacea its advocates profess but what is certain is that FPTP has outlived its usefulness. It might have a place in constituencies where all candidates are wholly independent, but in a modern democracy that embraces party politics, it only offers skewed outcomes. In that 2019 general election 53 per cent of voters backed a second referendum or revoke parties yet Brexit “still got done”. A majority opinion on such a fundamental constitutional change which has had significant political and economic effects surely should have been taken into account, yet FPTP allowed it to be ignored with the consequences – for good or for bad and whichever way you voted in the 2016 referendum – we are now witnessing.



The broadcaster’s exit poll results projected on the outside of the BBC building in London (AFP/Getty)

“PR alone won’t solve all the problems our democracy faces,” says Mark Kieran, CEO of Open Britain which campaigns for, among other aims, a revamp of the parliamentary voting system,



“but it would help move us from the current situation where politics only a minority voted for, become the default. It’s no wonder turnout at elections is so low. Why vote when nobody listens?”

Jess Garland, director of research and policy at the ERS, said at the time of the report that “Three-quarters of all votes were meaningless at the last general election, lost in FPTP. For millions trapped in hundreds of safe seats it’s like the election never happened. Westminster is a system built on unearned majority rule.”

It’s likely that many readers of this publication back some form of PR, akin to most modern democracies. FPTP is used for general elections by a falling number of nations and of the major economies only Britain, the US, India and Canada still use it.

Perhaps of more consequence is that in Europe, only Belarus shares the UK’s enthusiasm for it, while paradoxically the devolved nations of the UK have all adopted some form of PR to elect members. Crucially, there is no evidence whatsoever that it produces a more stable government, one of the totems of FPTP advocates and an argument that the last three years under Boris Johnson and his once 80-seat majority seem to have invalidated completely. “Political scientists have measured outcomes in countries with different voting systems globally and there is abundant evidence that FPTP actually results in worse outcomes – social, environmental, economic – than proportional democracies enjoy,” adds Jordan.

As the ERS report stated: “Of course, not every candidate or party can or should secure representation, but FPTP is brutal in denying millions any representation at all.” If we are to end what Conservative peer Lord Hailsham disparaged nearly 40 years ago as “elective dictatorship” some form of proportional representation might need to be adopted. But mathematics is a cruel scrutineer, showing up the flaws in any form of voting system. We will at some point have to decide just how many of those flaws we are prepared to accept to see the back of FPTP.



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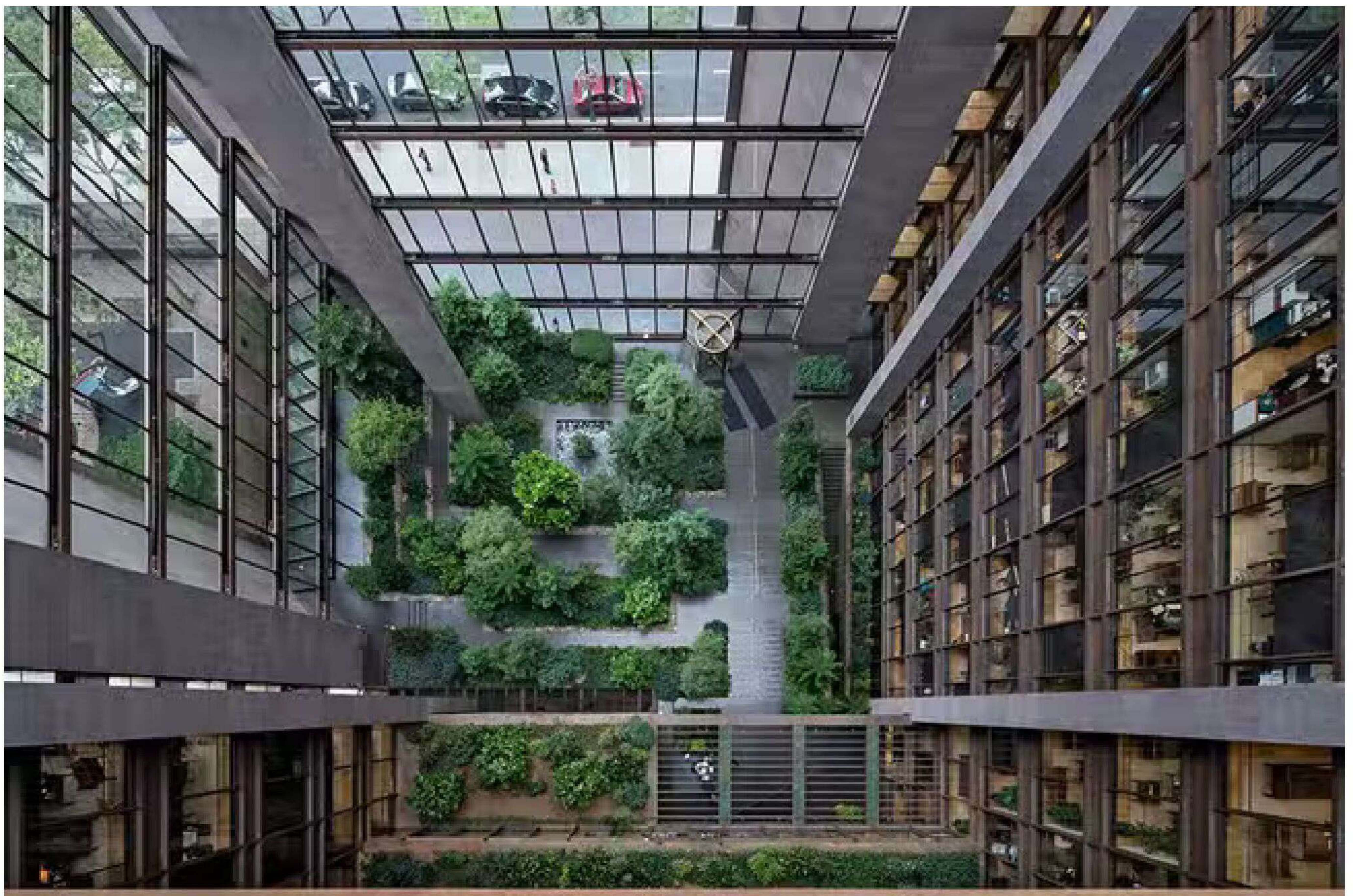
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# OFFICE CULTURE

Through a series of stories and essays 'The Office of Good Intentions' examines the spatial typologies and global phenomena that have defined the office in the last 50 years



Ford Foundation Headquarters, New York. Kevin Roche and John Dinkeloo Associates, 1968 (Iwan Baan)

Through stories and speculations, architects Florian Idenburg and LeeAnn Suen expose the relationships between space, work and people, and explore the intentions that have driven the development of office design for working humans.

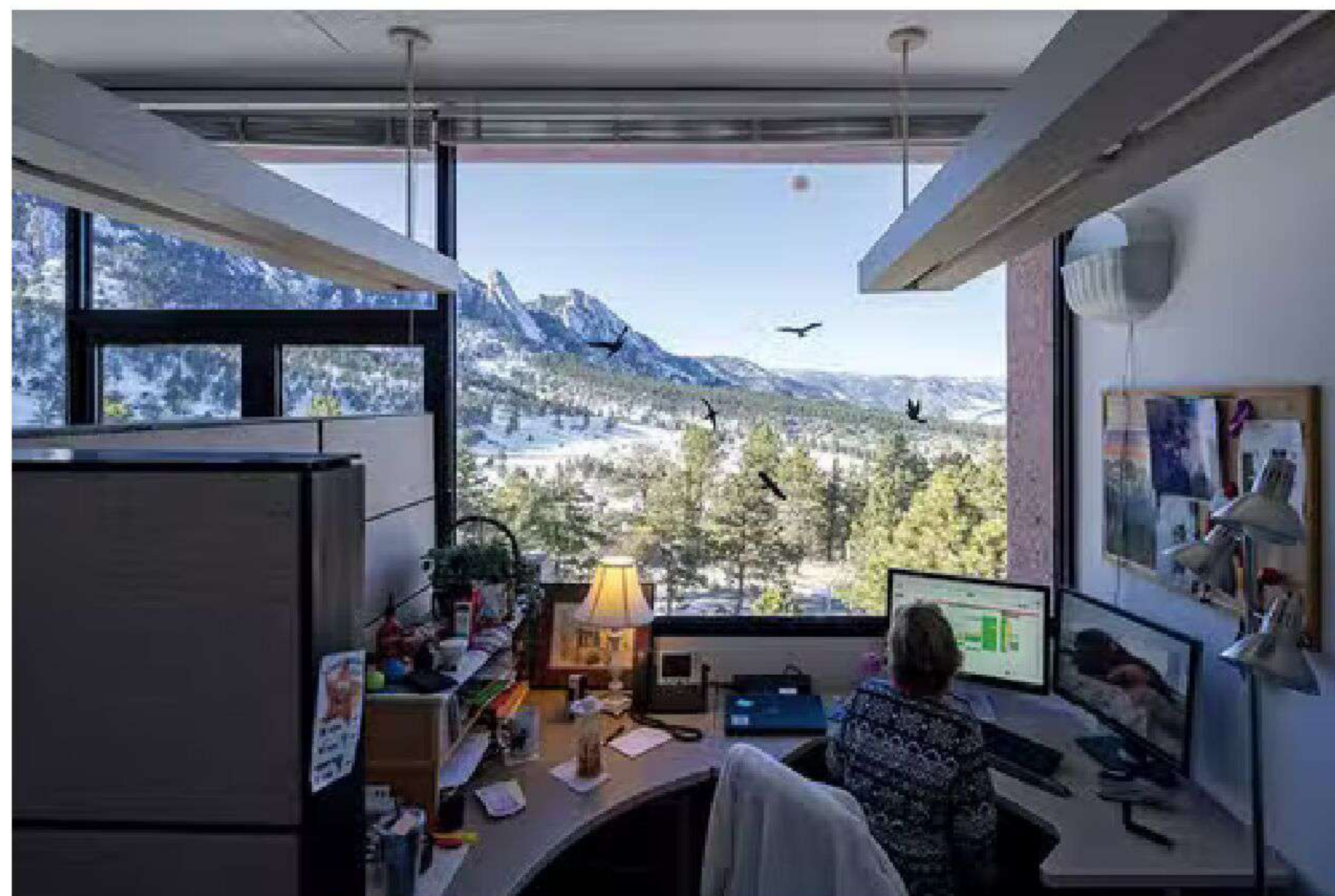


In twelve essays, *The Office of Good Intentions Human(s) Work* examines the spatial typologies and global phenomena that have defined the office in the last half-century.

Topics include the return of the work club, the rise of the corporate festival and the design of playgrounds for work. Frank Gehry's radical, playful spaces for digital nomads in the advertising world feature, as well as stacks of punch cards, the Aeron chair and answering the phone in Hugh Hefner's bed.

Photos by Iwan Baan provide a visual report on a range of office projects, such as Marcel Breuer's IBM campus in Florida and the Ford Foundation's urban garden in Manhattan.

This book looks at the spaces and solutions that have been designed for human work, tracing the transformation from work to occupation, from today's lived experience to tomorrow's unpredictable, imagined futures.



NCAR Mesa Laboratory, Boulder, Colorado. IM Pei & Associates, 1967 (Iwan Baan)





**TBWA-Chiat-Day, Los Angeles. Clive Wilkinson Architects, 1998 (Iwan Baan)**



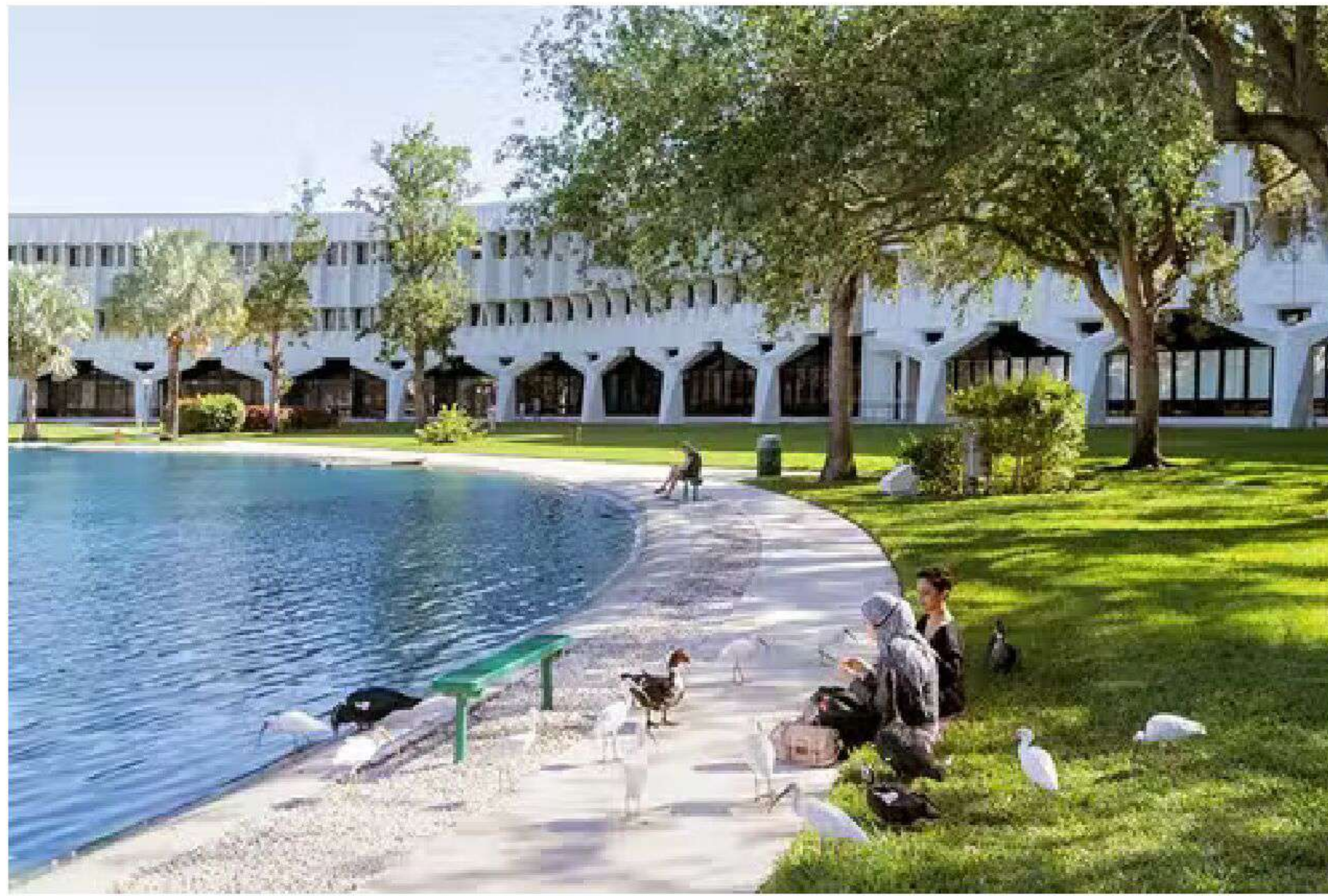
**Arcosanti, Mayer, Arizona. Paolo Soleri et al, 1970-present (Iwan Baan)**



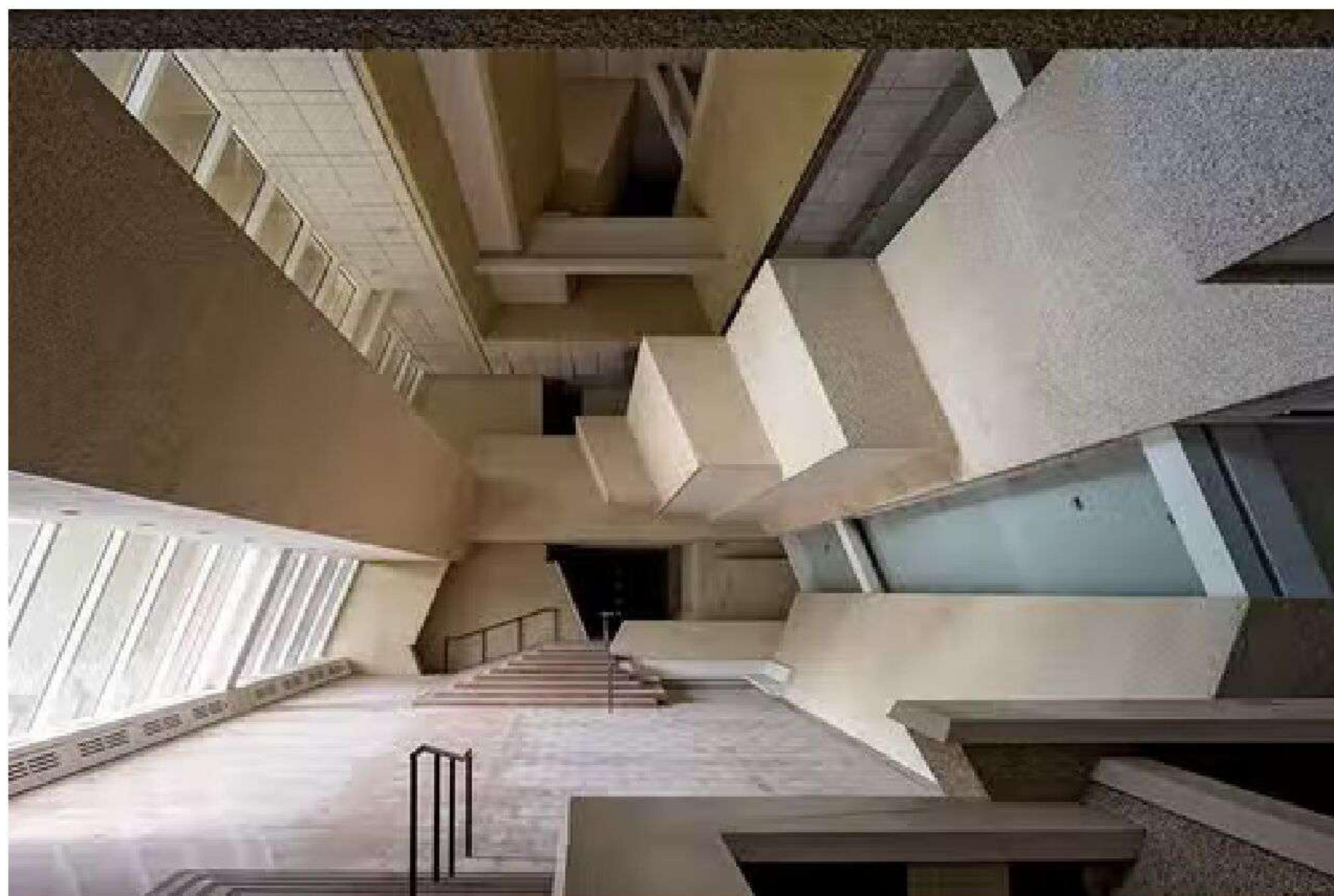


PA Technology Centre, New Jersey. Richard Rogers  
Partnership and structural engineer Peter Rice, 1975-1983  
(Iwan Baan)





**IBM Boca Raton, Florida. Marcel Breuer and Associates with Robert Gatje, 1970 (Iwan Baan)**

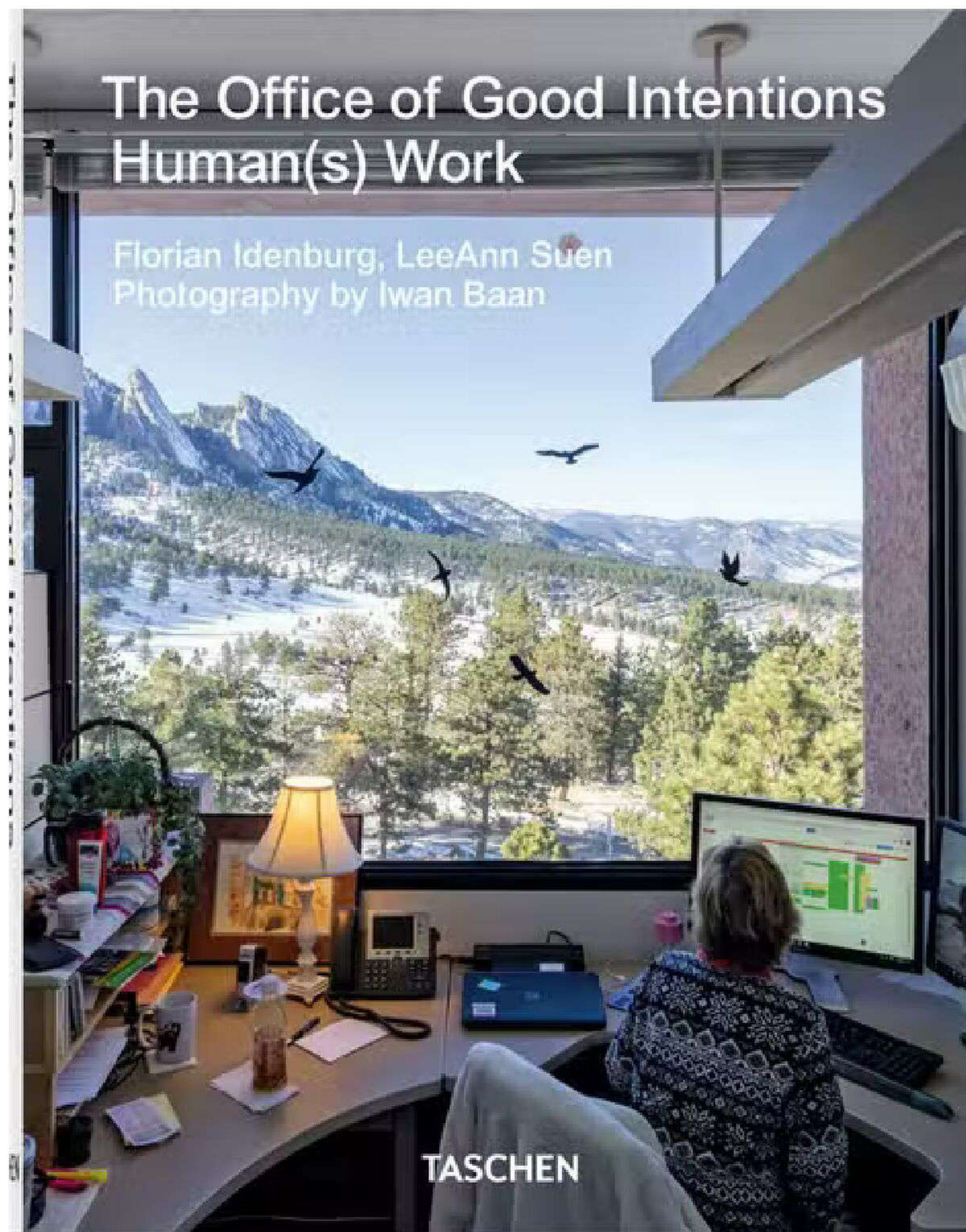


**Burroughs Wellcome Corporate Headquarters, Durham, North Carolina. Paul Rudolph, 1972 (Iwan Baan)**





Arcosanti, Mayer, Arizona. Paolo Soleri et al, 1970-present  
(Iwan Baan)



(Taschen)

*You can purchase 'The Office of Good Intentions. Human(s) Work'*  
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# Can I get compensation for this unexpected diversion?



Airlines often find themselves having to divert to offload disruptive passengers

**Q** I was on a flight from Belfast to Dalaman in Turkey 10 days ago. We were due to land at 9.10pm but did not arrive until 12.15am as our flight was diverted to Cologne to offload a drunken, aggressive passenger. I know you can claim compensation if your flight lands more than three hours late. But



is easyJet likely to say this is an extraordinary circumstance and refuse compensation?

**Karen**

**A** I see your flight took off a little late and flew normally for about 75 minutes. But shortly after flying over Dusseldorf in western Germany, the captain decided to divert to Cologne to offload the disruptive passenger. You touched down at the German airport at 5.30pm local time, and remained on the ground for two hours, 40 minutes.

As you discovered, when a flight diverts to an unexpected airport, there is a lot of red tape as well as police involvement in removing the offending traveller. With the need to refuel as well, the en-route delay was roughly what I would have expected.

The plane finally touched down in Dalaman just over three hours late. I imagine the whole experience was most annoying, and that you reached your accommodation at around 3am rather than at about midnight.

Spare a thought, though, for the passengers who were hoping to fly back to Belfast International late at night on the plane you arrived on. Due to the extended outbound journey, the crew went “out of hours” – they would not legally have been able to complete the homeward journey within their permitted hours. As a result, the passengers had to be put up in hotels and wait for the crew to be fully rested. They flew home 17 hours late. For them, the journey must have been even more frustrating.

Yet I cannot see any grounds for easyJet paying out compensation. The airline made the landing because the disruptive passenger could not safely be flown to Turkey, and this is certainly classed as “extraordinary circumstances”.


The episode will have cost easyJet many tens of thousands of pounds, and the airline may pursue a civil action against the disruptive passenger for its losses. In theory, any of the passengers could do the same, but you would need to demonstrate actual financial harm rather than irritation and loss of sleep.



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# ROYAL RUMBLE

Is sibling rivalry a healthy part of life, asks **Louis Chilton**, or do Princes Harry and William have some growing up to do?



Windsors at war? There are cracks in the relationship (Getty/iStock)

I think I can relate to Prince William and Prince Harry. No, really. I was once a petulant 10-year-old squabbling with my younger brother over who gets to be Player One on the Nintendo GameCube. And what is the monarchy if not a kind of



giant, nationwide GameCube controller, plugged somewhere into the white cliffs of Dover?

Over the past few years, the two sons of King Charles III and Diana, Princess of Wales have undergone an all-too-public falling out. Harry's beef isn't just with William, but with the whole royal establishment – “The Firm” – otherwise known as his extended family. His withdrawal from the core of the royals has seemed to be the final tug on the schism between them. But could it simply be a case of sibling rivalry?

To a certain extent, sibling rivalries are a “natural” and “healthy” part of life, says Dr Elena Touroni, a consultant psychologist and co-founder of The Chelsea Psychology Clinic. “For any child that acquires a sibling, there is a psychological adjustment of having to share the caregiver,” she explains. “The need is evolutionary to an extent. It is natural to want to be special and what we always have to negotiate with a sibling is this sharing of interest and attention from the parents.”

Sibling animosity can be found everywhere in popular contemporary fiction, from TV (*Game of Thrones*; *Succession*) to movies (*F9*; *Black Panther*) to best-selling books (*The Vanishing Half* by Brit Bennett; Bella Mackie's *How to Kill Your Family*). They're tales as old as time – or, at least, as old as life on Earth. Everyone knows the story of Cain and Abel. They were the first siblings to be mentioned in the Bible, along with their slightly less well-known younger brother Seth (sort of the Paul Gallagher of the outfit). After Cain's sacrifice was ignored by God, he turned to siblicide, bashing poor old Abel's head in with a rock.





Princes William and Harry at Windsor Castle after the death of their grandmother (Getty)

Now I'm not sure how analogous Harry and William's situation is to Cain and Abel; certainly their quarrel hasn't devolved to the point of physical violence (that we know of). Perhaps Harry and William are better understood through the lens of something less biblical: the celebrity sibling feud. From the Everly brothers to the Gallaghers, pop culture has been littered with siblings who couldn't stand the sight of one another. The Windsors have always harboured some funny parallels with the former Oasis frontmen: for much of their public lives, Harry and Liam were regarded as the rowdy and problematic younger brothers, Noel and William the strait-laced elders. But does this still hold true? Noel has enjoyed his fair share of criticism in recent years for comments on topics such as vaccines and disabled access at concerts – even, as it would turn out, getting into a public spat with Prince Harry. William's image, meanwhile, has hardened, pulling slowly away from the jolly newlywed that once charmed the nation.

“Any scenario in which two siblings are in the public eye – or where there is the possibility for rivalry of power – will likely spur on primitive instincts,” says Dr Touroni. “You are also more likely to compare yourself and be compared to a sibling. And so there is an inherent feeling of competition which then gets amplified by an audience.”



Such is the public nature of the royal tiff that most people feel compelled to pick a side. As the eldest of three brothers, I know my sympathies ought to lie with William. But I'm not so sure they do. If film and television are to be believed, older brothers are often domineering figures, whose main interactions with their younger kin seem to involve dispensing insults, beatings and (for want of an unproblematic term) "Chinese burns". I was no such tyrant. But that doesn't necessarily mean my younger siblings had it easy. When the older of my two brothers – my junior by 18 months – was very young, I used to apparently wind him up to the point where he would regularly bite me in anger. (Our exact versions of events differ in recollection.) In our teenage years, some of our bitterest feuds revolved around football: I am a Chelsea fan, while both my brothers support Arsenal. I suppose if you're going to have a falling out, the nefarious antics of Diego Costa are as good a catalyst as any.

In school, I tended to test very well, particularly in English; both of my (equally capable) brothers say they had to suffer through teachers singing my praises in absentia, holding up my obnoxiously verbose A-level essays as gospel. Our parents never played favourites, however, and all remarks about anyone living in anyone else's shadow have always been thoroughly tongue-in-cheek. Despite our bickering as children, my relationship with my brothers has matured into something much more sanguine now. It is a natural progression; for many, sibling rivalry is something you more or less outgrow.





On duty: William, Harry, Meghan Markle and Kate Middleton in November 2018 (Getty)

The problem for Harry and William, and Noel and Liam, is that their relationships are intertwined with all manner of other corrosive factors – money, fame, power – that are not in any way part of the natural order of things. When one, and only one, of two brothers is set to inherit a throne and command of a whole country, there cannot be any real emotional parity. “Picking favourites” is not just a parental vibe but a whole royal decree.

The Gallaghers were not just brothers but collaborators; their falling out and estrangement was made all the more bitter since it accompanied the break-up of their band, Oasis. It must be a strange thing to have millions of complete strangers invest emotions in the state of your personal fraternity, yet that’s exactly what these people are going through.

The thing about the royal family is that no one really knows very much about what’s going on behind the curtain. While TV series like *The Crown* may delude us into thinking we’re privy to the royal family’s private affairs, or to their sympathies and grudges, the reality is that we know almost nothing for certain. Has Harry’s marriage to Meghan Markle been a wedge between the two royals? Was William offended by his brother’s decision to distance himself from the monarchy? Who knows! What we do know is that William and Harry are, beneath it all, human beings. They are the only brother the other will ever know.



If the royal duo could learn to outgrow their rivalry, people would say it's a good thing for the country – but it's far more useful for them as people. When they are reflecting on that relationship at the ends of their lives, it's unlikely they'll be looking back in anger. But regret's another matter.

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# Exciting outsized opulence whisks us back to the Fifties

**Olivia Petter** reviews the debutante-inspired collection of Harris Reed that kicks off London Fashion Week with a bang



Reed's is an aesthetic that consistently subverts expectations. Stereotypes are turned on their heads (Marc Hibbert/iStock/The Independent)

Few capture the spirit of the British fashion industry quite like Harris Reed. Though the 26-year-old Central Saint Martins graduate is still in the early stages of his career – having



produced just five collections to date – he has quickly become one of the most exciting designers on UK soil.

As a student, he was already designing clothes for Harry Styles and Solange. Now, the half-American, half-British talent has expanded his clientele even further, with everyone from Beyoncé and Iman to Adele and Lil Nas X wearing his famously gender-fluid garments. Reed's is an aesthetic that consistently subverts expectations. Silhouettes are outsized. Stereotypes are turned on their heads. All of which is to say the anticipation surrounding Reed's London Fashion Week show was palpable.

The location, a cavernous organ-and-chandelier-equipped venue tucked behind Liverpool Street, was draped in scarlet velvet curtains, offering a glimpse at the opulence that was to come. With just a few seats lining the runway, the setting was surprisingly intimate. Guests, including Sam Smith, trickled in to the sombre strains of Imogen Heap's "Hide and Seek" until the lights went down and out stepped Queen's Adam Lambert. Few could match Pavarotti's illustrious version of Puccini's "Nessun Dorma", but Lambert's impressive, spine-tingling vocals came close, setting a melodramatic scene.





The first look from Harris Reed's spring/summer 2023 collection (Marc Hibbert)

As for the collection, well, put it this way: it managed to somehow outshine Lambert's performance. The first look of 12 was a low-slung white silk skirt with a black velvet corset and outsized sculptural collar. Paired with a long spherical top hat, it felt fittingly regal – a subtle nod to the late monarch, perhaps.

Next came a long-sleeved velvet gown with a peplum fishtail, worn with one of Reed's signature circle hats. It looked like it had been plucked out of a black tie ball in the 1950s. From then on there was plenty of colour: an eye-popping fuchsia gown juxtaposed a series of orb dresses that comprised peek-a-boo face holes in peacock blue and yolk yellow.



Texturally rich, the collection also featured a profusion of sequins. There was a monochrome polkadot trouser suit and a silver fishtail skirt paired with a breastplate, created with Missoma, depicting celestial symbols. In traditional couture style, the final look was bridal: a balletic white strapless mini dress paired with a crinoline headpiece larger than the skirt itself.



Reed's collection 'explores the performative nature of dress' (Marc Hibbert)

The title's collection, MISE EN SCÈNE, referenced the "collective effort, community and collaboration that goes into every Harris Reed collection", the show notes explained. This season, Reed was inspired by "the performative nature of dress,



taking inspiration from the rigorous codes of a debutante ball”. Hence why traditional feminine codes, such as crinolines, corsets and headpieces, are reimagined through Reed’s fluid lens. What’s more, as in previous Reed collections, many of the ensembles were created using deadstock fabric.

As models slowly made their way down the runway in their theatrical garments, gently swaying their arms in dance-like motions to the sounds of Lambert belting out Queen’s “Who Wants to Live Forever”, the mood was akin to that of a Dior show from the 1950s. Such is the mastery of Reed’s craftsmanship. If this is a sign of what’s to come, London Fashion Week could be set for its most defiant season yet.

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# Don't be hobbled in your kitchen, try these pans out

Induction pots to tackle almost every job, writes **Andy Lynes**



There is no one perfect induction pan or set of pans. The requirements in terms of number of pans, and their size, shape and weight, will vary from household to household, and cook to cook, depending on the number of people being fed and the type of food being prepared.



But there are qualities that every pan should have. Ideally, the pan will have a perfectly flat base, so it achieves maximum contact with the hob, to ensure even cooking and optimum energy efficiency. The base will be thick enough to ensure ingredients won't stick and burn, and will react quickly when you increase or decrease the heat. It will be robustly constructed, so it will last a long time. and, if it says it's non-stick, surely nothing will stick to the surface.

Happily, our testing showed that there are lots of options at different price points that meet all of those requirements. However, the old saying that “you get what you pay for” holds true with induction pans. In our experience, pans with higher price points, made from high-quality 18/10 stainless steel or enamelled cast iron, were generally more robustly constructed and likely to outlast lower-priced options.

We were very pleasantly surprised by the aluminium pans we tested, which had the advantage of being particularly lightweight, too (it's worth noting that not all aluminium pans work on induction hobs, and need either a magnetised base or a layer of iron in the base to work with the technology, so always check product details before you buy).

There is a continuing debate around non-stick pans and the presence of potentially harmful PFOA and PFAS chemicals in the coating, although it appears that the jury is still out on the matter. However, many brands are now proudly stating that their pans are PFOA and PFAS free, so it's worth doing some research before you buy. There is also competition between Teflon and ceramic coatings, as to which is the most effective and durable. Although our favourite non-stick pan in this review was ceramic coated, all of the non-stick pans we tested performed very well, so the choice may come down simply to personal preference.

### **How we tested**

We cooked with all the pans several times, to see how well they performed in terms of even heat distribution, versatility (including if they were oven safe), ease, comfort of handling and,



if applicable, how well its non-stick coating performed. We assessed them in terms of the robustness of their construction, their weight and how easy they were to store (for the pan sets, we judged them on if they stackable or not). We also handwashed every pan, to assess how easy they were to clean, as well as if they were dishwasher safe.



### **Stellar induction 28cm frying pan, non-stick £99, [Stellar.co.uk](https://www.stellar.co.uk)**

This roomy pan became our first choice for so many different reasons during the testing process that we just had to pick it as our all-round favourite. Whether it was a Saturday morning fry-up with beautifully crispy bacon, nicely browned sausages and eggs that just slid off the pan, a mid-week meal of crispy-skinned chicken thighs, or a Friday night treat of perfectly cooked steaks, the Stellar did the job.

The 18/10 stainless steel construction, triple layered Teflon coating (free of potentially harmful PFOA chemicals) and thick 'hot forged' base delivered even heat and a premium feel beyond the price point. The silicon soft grip stay-cool handle felt good to hold and enabled safe transfer from hob to oven (the pan is safe up to 180C). At 7cm high, the pan has enough depth to make it suitable for paella or a ragu, too. The non-stick coating made the pan especially easy to clean by hand, but it can also go



in the dishwasher. With a 10-year guarantee, we expect the Stellar to be our go-to pan for years to come.

**Buy now**



**GreenPan Barcelona pro 18cm saucepan with lid £85,  
Fenwick.co.uk**

The non-stick coating of this smart-looking pan is so smooth and effective that it should probably come with a hazard warning, at least for the ingredients that slip and slide over its mirror-like surface. Green Pan is rightfully proud of what it calls its “Thermolon Infinity Professional ceramic non-stick coating”, which is free from PFAS chemicals that are potentially harmful to the environment. It’s also scratch resistant and extremely easy to clean.

At 5mm thick, the aluminium and stainless-steel constructed pan felt pleasingly weighty and robust, yet easy to handle and heated up evenly and efficiently. The 2.1-litre pan and glass lid are oven safe up to 200C making the pan perfect for starting a stew on the hob and finishing off in the oven.

**Buy now**





**Swan retro five-piece pan set £79.99, [Shop.swan-brand.co.uk](https://shop.swan-brand.co.uk)**

If you're looking for great value but don't want to sacrifice on style, this 1950s-inspired pan set fits the bill. With their retro ribbed design, the 16cm, 18cm and 20cm saucepans and 20cm and 28cm frying pans looked great and performed beyond their relatively low price point. The ceramic non-stick coating worked like a dream, too. We particularly loved the 28cm frying pan which produced beautifully crispy bacon and was the perfect size and shape for a family-sized chorizo frittata that just slid out of the pan onto the plate. We used the saucepans for everything from boiling potatoes (the tempered glass lids meant we could cover the pan to bring it up to temperature quickly, while keeping an eye on things to ensure it didn't boil over), to making a spicy tomato sauce and found that they heated quickly and evenly and were responsive to changes in temperature.

On the downside, the pans are not oven proof or dishwasher proof, although they were very easy to clean by hand. The pressed aluminium construction may not be quite as robust and durable as the other more expensive pans reviewed and the Bakelite handles, though nicely designed and comfortable to use, looked less than premium (we also found that we needed to use a cloth to safely lift the lids as the lid handles became hot after a while). However, we thoroughly enjoyed cooking with the set that met our everyday cooking needs with ease.



**Buy now**



**STAUB 25cm tomato cast iron cocotte £279, [Zwilling.com](https://www.zwilling.com)**

A pot in the shape of a giant cherry red, beefsteak tomato might not sound like the most sensible addition to your kitchen, but hear us out. Yes, it's a head-turning piece of cookware that will look fabulous on your dinner table, but it's practical too. The cast iron construction is not only hard-wearing and scratch-resistant, but can be heated to high temperatures, which allowed us to achieve a great sear on some lamb for a curry. Once the snug fitting lid was on (we loved the stalk-shaped handle) and the heat reduced, the cocotte retained an even all-round heat and sealed in the juices and aromas to produce a fantastic end result. We got even better results finishing a stew off in the oven (the cocotte is safe to use up to 260C) and the 2.5l capacity meant we could cook for a crowd.

Although the cocotte is dishwasher safe, it does take up a lot of room, so we preferred to hand wash it, and it took little effort to get it looking pristine again. The only downside is that the cocotte is so enjoyable to use that you may only ever cook stews, casseroles and braises, but a lifetime of delicious, easy to prepare and economical dishes doesn't sound too bad to us.

**Buy now**





**Smeg 24cm casserole pan £169.95, [Shop.smeguk.com](http://Shop.smeguk.com)**

Bring some Italian style into your kitchen with this eye-catching Art Deco-ish retro casserole. Also available in red or black, we particularly liked the classy cream finish. But it's not just about the good looks, this is a high quality and highly useful piece of kitchen kit. Constructed from aluminium, the casserole feels light, but the multi-layered thickened base ensured fast and even heat distribution. The non-stick coating worked a treat and we hardly needed to add any oil when browning meat.

Heat resistant up to 250°C, the casserole is perfect for its traditional use of slow-cooked stews and braises that you can start on the hob and finish in the oven (the easy-to-grip double handles make transferring the pan safe and simple). But the rounded bowl design and roomy 4.6l capacity made it ideal for stir-frying too, and we'd happily cook a risotto in it or use it to boil or blanch vegetables.

We loved the tempered glass lid so we could keep an eye on the food while it was cooking, as well as how easy the whole thing was to clean; the pan is dishwasher safe but was no chore to hand wash. We also tried the 26cm/ 7.7-litre version which was more pan than we needed, but it would suit a large family that needs to cook up big pots of pasta or vegetables on the regular.



Although the pan is relatively expensive, it's both covetable and practical, so well worth the investment.

**Buy now**



**Kuhn Rikon allround cookware five-piece set £284,  
[Kuhnrikon.co.uk](http://Kuhnrikon.co.uk)**

If you're looking for a high-quality pan set to cover all your everyday cooking needs, then look no further. With 16cm/1.5l, 18cm/2.3l and 20cm/3l saucepans available with glass lids; a 24cm non-stick frying pan and 16cm/1.5l non-stick milk pan, you're all set to boil some veg or rice, heat up a tin of beans, cook a chilli, and fry sausages amongst dozens of other jobs. The pans will last the distance, too.

Made from durable and rust-resistant 18/10 stainless steel with thick encapsulated bases that ensure even heat distribution, the pans look and feel premium. Design aspects like each pan's curved, stay-cool ergonomic handles that are easy to grip; accompanied by snug fitting vented glass lids that allowed for monitoring of the cooking process, and the rounded edge that aided the pouring of a sauce or draining liquid all added to the pleasure of cooking. Oven safe up to 240C, dishwasher safe and stackable for ease of storage, this set is an asset to any family kitchen.



**Buy now**



**Saveur Selects voyage series tri-ply saucepan with lid, 20cm  
£71, [Amara.co.uk](https://www.amara.co.uk)**

The more we cooked with this versatile pan, the more we loved its thoughtful design. The curved bottom not only looked great, but meant there were no corners to navigate with a spoon or spatula when moving ingredients around the pan. Its flared rim made pouring soup into a bowl or draining water from boiled vegetables easy, and also aided evaporation, making the pan perfect for reducing sauces. Conversely, the double-walled lid was extremely efficient at trapping moisture so that the pan came to a boil quickly and both the flavours and aromas of slow simmered dishes were kept in the food; this was aided by a series of condensation drip rings in the underside of the lid that distributed the condensation evenly.

The high quality 18/10 stainless steel with aluminium core construction (oven safe up to 260C) ensured fast and even heat distribution and made everything from cooking risotto, to sauteing spinach and boiling up spuds a joy. We loved the rivet-less construction and couldn't imagine the textured, stay cool handle coming loose any time soon. Although the pan is dishwasher safe, we followed the manufacturer's



recommendation and washed it carefully by hand, getting an as-new result each time with little effort.

We only had two slight criticisms. Firstly, the solid lid meant we were cooking ‘blind’ when it was in place and needed to pay close attention to ensure the pan didn’t boil over; a glass lid would have been our first choice. Secondly, we noticed that the stay-cool handles did begin to warm up after a few minutes of cooking time, although we were still able to handle them with our bare hands. However, the pan’s use and care instructions include a caution saying that ‘your cookware, handles and lid will be HOT during and after use. Always use a dry towel when lifting or removing your cookware,’ so it may be sensible to err on the side of caution. Nevertheless, we can easily see this becoming a firm kitchen favourite.

**Buy now**



**Zwilling simplify five-piece stainless steel pot set, silver £349, [Zwilling.com](https://www.zwilling.com)**

If you’re a busy home cook that always has something simmering on the stove, look no further than this high-quality pot set that has you covered for every eventuality. The 24cm/ 6l stock pot is ideal for stock-making of course, but also for cooking pasta or boiling up a big batch of potatoes to be roasted for Sunday lunch.



At the other extreme, the 16cm/ 1.5l saucepan was perfect for hard-boiled eggs. The three medium-sized pots, billed as two “stock pots” at 16cm/ 2l and 20cm/ 3.5l, and one ‘stew pot’ coming in at 20cm/3l (no, we’re not sure what the difference is, either) came in handy for everything from soup making to heating up noodles.

The high-quality 18/10 stainless steel construction was surprisingly light and gave the pans a premium feel. The multi-layered sandwich base with an aluminium core did a great job of heating quickly and evenly and retaining the heat, meaning we used a lower heat setting. The mirror finish means it’s easy to see what’s going on inside the pan. The stay cool, soft touch silicone handles were nice to use, felt secure and aided grip. The off-set wing-like lid handles not only looked stylish and unique, but also meant the lid could be slotted into one of the handles during cooking, thereby avoiding having to place it on the countertop.

The silicone-edged lids fitted snugly which helped things come up to boil quickly and the integrated sieve was effective, obviating the need for a colander - though the pan was a little on the slow side to drain. The pots are oven safe up to 180C, and therefore ideal for braised dishes. They’re also dishwasher safe, but were quick and easy enough to clean by hand. The only downside was that not all the pans stack inside each other, and we ended up with two separate stacks which may be an issue if cupboard space is at a premium in your kitchen.

Although this Zwilling pot set is currently out of stock online, alternative stainless steel sets are available on the [website](#) and you are able to [sign up](#) for email restock notifications.

**[Buy now](#)**





### **Our Place always pan £125, [Fromourplace.co.uk](http://Fromourplace.co.uk)**

The makers claim this stylish pan will replace “eight pieces of traditional cookware”. That’s a bit of a stretch as the Always Pan is basically a high-sided frying pan with lid and steamer basket insert. But it’s true that it’s versatile, handling various cooking methods demanded by a Spanish-style pork and butter bean stew with ease. The non-toxic, non-stick enamel coating is so effective that we only needed a teaspoon of oil to fry off some diced pork belly to a good sear, with the pan heating up quickly and evenly. Lowering the heat, onions, chillies and peppers sweated nicely with some paprika, without sticking. The 2.46l capacity meant we could just add in the tomatoes, stock and butter beans and let it simmer away with the well-fitting lid effectively sealing in all the aromas and juices.

It does have its limitations, however. While the aluminium construction makes the pan light (1.36kg) and easy to handle, it does mean that it’s best used over low to medium heat in order to protect the non-stick coating. Although the manufacturers say that “the occasional sear is totally fine” this won’t necessarily be your go-to pan for steaks and chops. It’s not oven proof either which means braised dishes will have to be cooked on the hob and you will have to hand wash your Always Pan too, as it’s not dishwasher safe, but it took very little elbow grease to get it clean.



However, we loved the matt finish, and the fact that it was available in a range of nine distinctive colours including our favourite, blue salt. The supplied wooden spatula can also be rested on the pan's sturdy and comfortable stay-cool handle, eliminating the need for a separate spoon rest. It may be a little on the expensive side, but the Always Pan is as much a pleasure to cook with as it is to look at, and would be a welcome and useful addition to any keen cook's collection.

**Buy now**



**Zyliss cook ultimate non-stick three-piece set £135, [Zyliss.co.uk](https://www.zyliss.co.uk)**

If you're looking to cut down the amount of oil and fat you cook with, this set of rugged, hard-wearing pans is the perfect solution. The unusual ball-blasted interior has a rough and uneven three-layer coating which the manufacturers claim allows fats to accumulate away from the food for a healthier result. Although running a cooking utensil over the cratered surface felt strange at first (the coating is so robust you can even use metal utensils), we soon got used to the sensation.

We only needed a tiny drop of oil to sweat some chopped onions, which cooked quickly and evenly in the heavy aluminium-based pan. The silicon-coated ergonomic handles were extremely comfortable to use and the pans felt so solidly



constructed that we could imagine them outlasting their 10-year guarantee. Add in a securely fitting glass lid and the fact that the pans are both oven and dishwasher safe and you have a lot of bang for a reasonable amount of buck.

**Buy now**

## **The verdict**

With such a strong selection to choose from, picking an overall winner wasn't easy, but the **Stellar induction 28cm frying pan** met all the criteria of a great piece of induction cookware we were looking for in terms of practicality, performance and durability, and all at a price that doesn't break the bank. We also really enjoyed cooking with the excellent value **Swan retro five-piece pan set**, which offered bags of both style and value.

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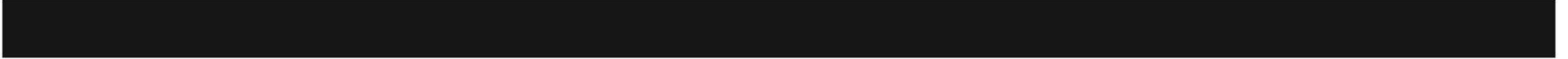
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# ON THIS DAY



The former Formula One racing driver Damon Hill is 62 today (Getty)

**1745:** The Jacobites, under the Young Pretender, occupied Edinburgh.

**1787:** Some 39 delegates (out of 42), under the chairmanship of George Washington, approved the Constitution of the United States of America.

**1827:** Wides in cricket were first scored in the Sussex vs Kent game at Brighton.



**1894:** *A Gaiety Girl* opened at Day's Theatre, New York, the first British musical on Broadway.

**1908:** Lt Thomas Selfridge of the US Army Signal Corps was killed in a plane crash in Fort Meyer, Virginia. Pilot Orville Wright was also seriously injured. Selfridge was the world's first military aviation fatality.

**1931:** Long-playing records (33rpm) were demonstrated in New York by RCA-Victor, but the venture failed because of the high price of the players, and the first real microgroove records did not appear until 1948.

**1944:** The Allied airborne invasion of Arnhem, Nijmegen and Eindhoven in the Netherlands began as part of Operation Market Garden. The objective was to secure a bridge over the Rhine to as part of an Allied invasion of Germany, but after a battle which lasted until 27 September, the attempt failed.

**1944:** Blackout regulations were lifted to allow lights on buses, trains and at railway stations in Britain for the first time for five years.

**1961:** One of London's biggest "ban the bomb" demos ended with 830 arrested, including actress Vanessa Redgrave and playwright John Osborne.

**On this day last year:** Elizabeth Estensen retired from her role as Diane Sugden on *Emmerdale* after 22 years on the soap.

## Birthdays

**Des Lynam**, broadcaster, 80; **Billy Bonds**, former footballer and football manager, 76; **Damon Hill**, former racing driver, 62; **Doug E Fresh**, rap singer, 56; **Ken Doherty**, snooker player, 53; **Mike Catt**, former rugby union player, 51.

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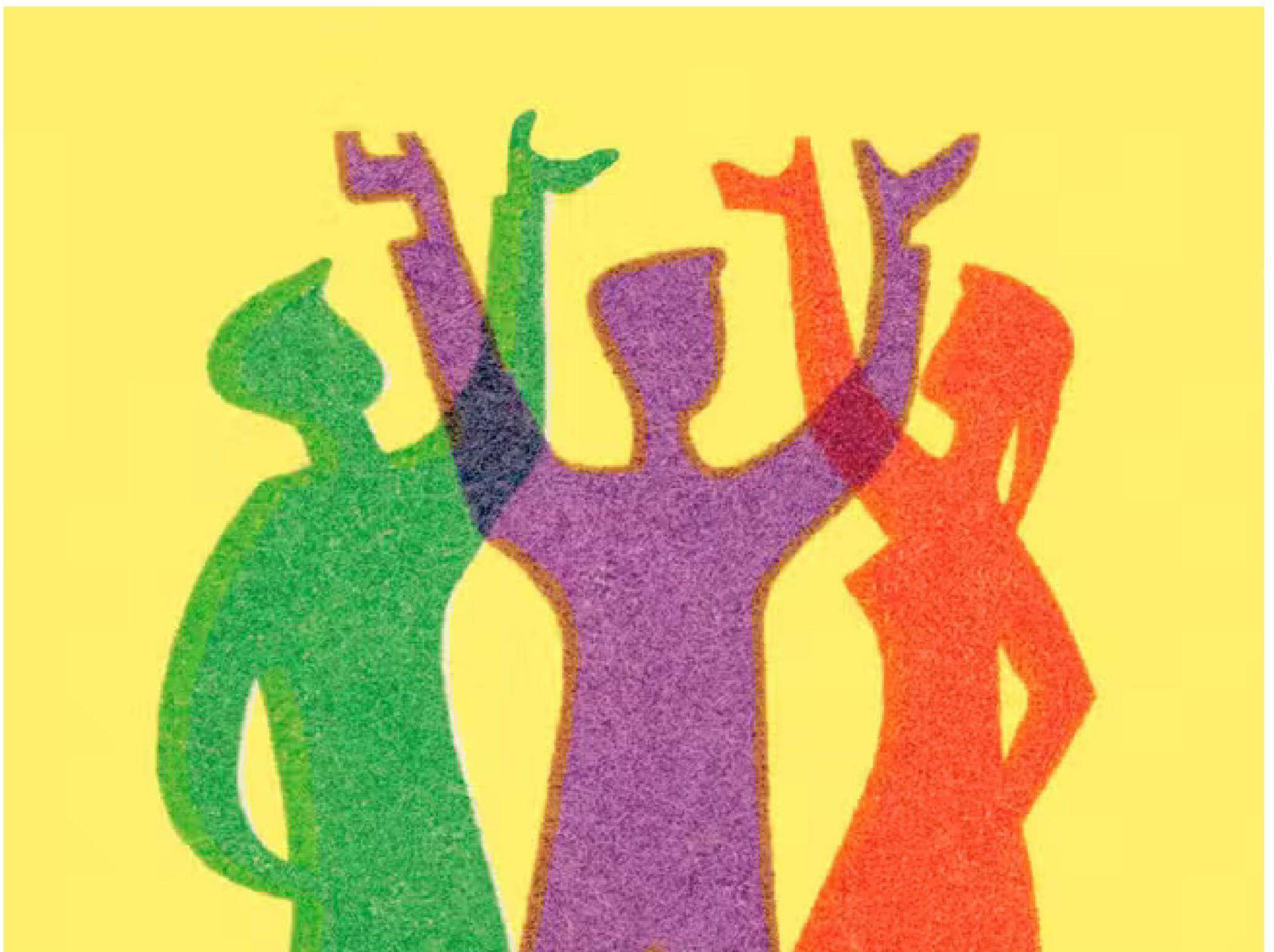






# PARTNERING UP

Many young UK adults are exploring polyamory, including **Matthew Neale**. He examines laws and lifestyle choices



It's the kind of community that people used to more commonly find in church (iStock)

I get asked a lot of questions about being polyamorous. How I allocate time. How I navigate conflicting relationship styles. How I get any work done around the presumed bacchanalian



nights of group sex and opium dens. But to answer the most popular enquiry: yes, I do sometimes get a little jealous.

Not of my partners, I should clarify. Or indeed any of *their* partners, all of whom are out here living their best lives, no doubt more concerned about how many jumpers they need to put on this winter to stay warm than finding someone else's in their laundry basket. What I envy instead are the legal protections and social recognition that is yet to be afforded to set-ups like mine. Or many other domestic scenarios dissimilar from a 1950s family photograph. Those felt barely realistic back then, and feel even more cruelly anachronistic today.

Nonetheless, to see polyamory or ethical non-monogamy (ENM) as new, shiny relationship models is, for the most part, to view global history back to front. Monogamy is both a relatively new and – perhaps surprisingly – unpopular way of life: not only do less than 5 per cent of mammal species on the planet practice it (and those animals that do pair for life, like swans, are rarely sexually exclusive to their chosen partners), but the “monogamy” practiced by humans generally involves multiple partners, too. They're simply spread out over time or sequestered away in the form of secret affairs.

Giulia Smith, founder of the newly formed UK Polyamorous Association (UKPA), believes that polyamorous and ENM communities are sorely lacking in representation, and wants to provide support and advocacy for those people who face discrimination or stigma for their way of life.

“Basically, polyamory isn't recognised by the law in the UK,” Smith tells me from their living room in Bristol. “A common issue is harassment: polyamorous people can often experience verbal abuse, be accused of immoral or unethical behaviour, or be excluded by their family or workplace.” That can have a ripple effect across all areas of life, including social isolation. It means people can be discouraged from being open about their relationships, which in turn limits polyamorous visibility in society. “The fear of coming out is huge,” Smith adds.

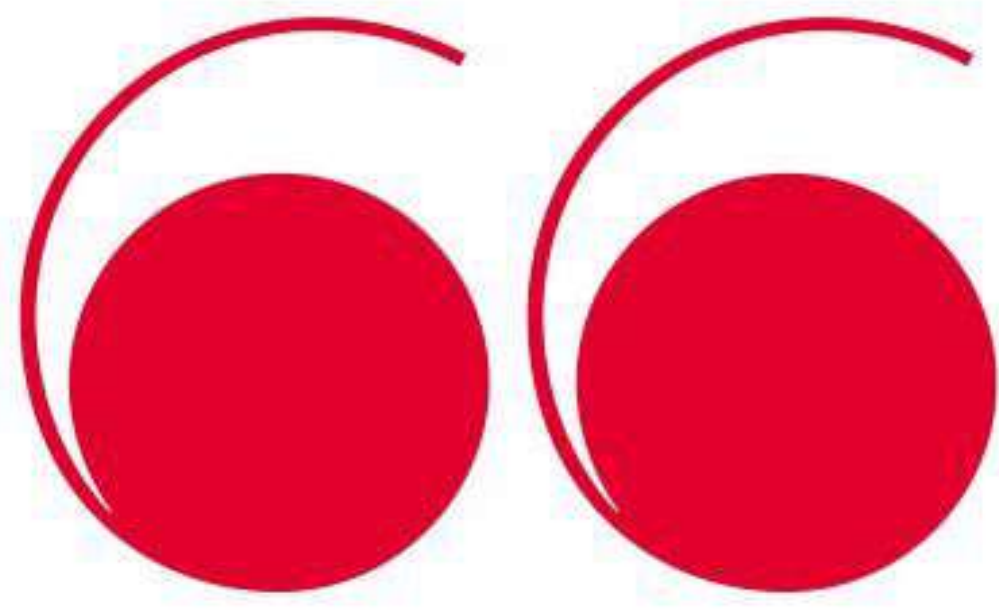


How do we change that stigma? As well as advocating for people currently facing discrimination, Smith also hopes to provide – as part of the UKPA – training and education within key institutions to create a better, more inclusive future. That could include health clinics, domestic abuse shelters and – most crucially – schools, where sex education doesn't currently acknowledge polyamory. It's a project that necessitates fighting battles on multiple fronts, though there are urgent priorities.

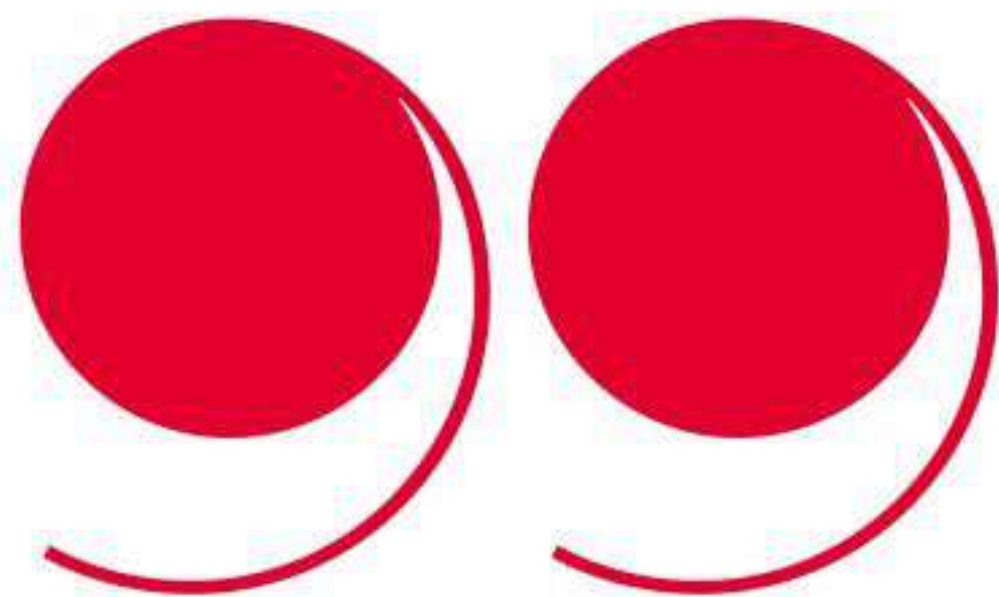
“We think there are two key policies that need amending,” they say. “The first is family law. Marriage, I think, is a very long way away, in terms of being able to have more than one spouse. The first step is more likely to be civil partnership. But before that, [we need] inclusion in the Equality Act. That would then automatically raise the perception of employment law, property law, healthcare legislation, harassment. It wouldn't necessarily mean the legislation in those areas would change straight away, but it would be the first step.”

Dr Elisabeth Sheff, an author and expert in polyamory in the US, agrees. “Those two [policies] are the most important,” she tells me over the phone from upstate New York. “Family law would not only cover custody of children, but also sharing of benefits and things like that. In the UK, that's not as big of a deal, but in the US, where we have enormous gaps in our healthcare insurance, being able to cover multiple spouses under insurance makes an enormous difference to some people.”





**To have a bigger network than just the people we're having sex with is a deeply human desire, and that is largely unmet in many societies, even by religion**



As in the UK, employment law technically exists within the US to protect minorities, but Sheff admits it's "very shaky" at the best of times. That even applies to more commonly acknowledged forms of discrimination. "In theory we have protection around things like race and gender," she says. "But in practice many places of business are what they call 'at-will' employers, which means they don't need any reason to fire you. They can fire you if they feel like it. Polyamorous folks are among those with insecure employment in the United States."

It seems all the stranger when you consider that strict monogamy accounts for only about 17 per cent of human cultures. Of course, that's not to say that the remaining 83 per cent come under the banner of ethical non-monogamy; far from it. Laws do exist in the world regarding multiple partners – polygamy was decriminalised in Utah in 2020, primarily with regard to members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly known as Mormons – but the common denominator is patriarchal households where men take multiple wives. These kinds of communities have historically been rife with various forms of abuse.

What makes conservative lawmakers uncomfortable, it seems, is when agency – particularly, but not exclusively, sexual agency – is no longer the exclusive preserve of men. Or as Sheff puts it:



“If women can legitimately have multiple-partnership relationships as well, the patriarchy wants nothing to do with that under any circumstances. It’s much easier to slut-shame someone when they don’t have any alternative.”

Part of the problem, Sheff says, is that many of our legal frameworks are still built around the somewhat nebulous concept of morality, rather than ethics. This is particularly pertinent when it comes to child custody law: if a religious judge deems a gay couple to be “immoral”, for example, would we accept that this constitutes an accurate or fair assessment of their ability to raise children? “If we could refocus from morality, which is incredibly subjective and religious, to a more neutral, ethical framework, I think that’s a much better base of laws and decision making.”

While lifestyles involving multiple partners may be nothing new, however, there is a growing sense that some of these changes may reflect an adaptation to pressures faced by younger generations today. Or, to quote a viral tweet from last year, “‘Why is everyone poly these days?’ Motherfucker it takes seven people to be able to buy a house”.

“Millennials and Generation Z are generally not that enchanted with monogamy,” Sheff argues. “A lot of them have two or three jobs, and the idea of also trying to have kids is difficult. So that kind of white picket fence marital dream is really not feasible. You’re not likely to be living in the same place or have the same job in the next five years. So I think it goes generationally with this more rapidly shifting, nomadic society. In a way, it’s a coping mechanism – it’s well suited, it’s adaptive to postmodern society.”





**Relationship goals: the real challenge is to build a world where polyamory is accepted by everyone (iStock)**

But people aren't just choosing to be polyamorous out of dire necessity. It's also worth remembering that, despite misconceptions to the contrary, the term "partner" in ENM circles doesn't merely equate to sexual partners. For people who identify as asexual, for example, it's not a priority at all. Some might be "solo poly" (dating multiple people but leading an independent or single lifestyle), while some prefer "kitchen table poly", where the many people involved end up collectively sighing over the state of their Google calendars. But for most, I would suggest, it's more about building something bigger – forging a chosen family (or "logical family") based on the people you want to share your life with, however much or little of it that may be, and not just the people who arrive in your life by circumstance or birth. In short, it's about community.

It's the kind of community that people used to more commonly find in church, or with their neighbours, or the one person they chose to provide all the sex, intimacy and companionship they would need for the rest of their lives. Some of those institutions still hold strong, though many are being questioned or left behind. "But we're left with that hunger," Sheff tells me. "For connection, [or] a larger sense of wanting to know who's close to us. To have a bigger network than just the people we're having



sex with is a deeply human desire, and that is largely unmet in many societies, even by religion.”

People still want to feel part of a congregation. I feel that pull too. I want a life where the people I love can live their lives freely and authentically and with as much joy and sense of connection to the world around them as their hearts can take. After all, the hard work isn’t balancing multiple relationships. The real challenge is to build a world where they’re accepted by everyone else, a world where loving more than one person isn’t seen as a deviant character flaw. That starts with re-examining the antiquated legal framework that still defines our lives.

Crucially, I want a world where the first question I get asked in the pub is the one my dad asked me when I first came out as poly: “Isn’t it expensive going on all those dates?”

It is. But we’re also very good at sharing jumpers and Netflix passwords, too.

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# DRESSED TO THRILL

With shows from Bora Aksu, Edward Crutchley, Mark Fast, Temperley and KNWLS – and some spectacular last-minute tributes to Elizabeth II – **Hayley Spencer** and **Olivia Petter** share the highlights of London Fashion Week's day two



Bora Aksu's show began with a minute's silence for the Queen (Stefan Knauer/Bora Aksu)

In light of the passing of Queen Elizabeth II and a period of national mourning, the fate of London Fashion Week's Spring



Summer 2022 was an uncertain one last week. Quintessentially British brand Burberry, as well as Raf Simons, who was due to present his London debut, quickly announced the cancellation of their shows after the news broke. But with the government allowing events to continue, the consensus was that the show must go on.

The British Fashion Council announced that “shows and presentations of collections can continue, but we are asking that designers respect the mood of the nation”, with just non-essential events, and parties cancelled, as well as Monday’s shows being rescheduled in respect of the funeral. So it was clear that some spectacular last-minute tributes to Elizabeth II were likely to ensue.

Things began on Thursday evening with Daniel W Fletcher, the young designer famed for his transgressive unisex collections. As the fashion pack jostled into The Londoner hotel behind Leicester Square, an unusually sombre mood filled the air. Gone were the usual pre-show cocktails. Fletcher opened his show with last season; this was a business-only affair, given the British Fashion Council’s guidelines.

It was fitting, then, that most of the crowd wore black. Before the show began, the crowd observed a minute’s silence in honour of Her Majesty. The lights went down – and everyone, even the influencers – managed to put their phones away for the duration.





**Daniel W Fletcher's collection featured a nod to the eclectic characters of London throughout history (Daniel W Fletcher)**

When the lights came up, though, the tribute continued as the first model walked the runway in an all-black morning suit rendered in British wool. Worn with a singular armband as the sounds of British composer Max Richter played, it was an apt way to honour the late monarch.

What followed was an equally solemn palette taking its cues from a rumbling autumnal British day: black, gunmetal grey, and off-white. The collection was a nod to the eclectic characters of London throughout history, with looks modelled on everyone from contemporary city-slickers to the punks of the King's Road.

We saw multiple three-piece suits – only waistcoats were reimagined as corsets, even on male models – checked pyjama short sets in postbox reds, and a series of white-tie items. Among them, a particularly eye-catching halter-neck floor-length number. Pleated skirts were worn over trousers on men and women; oversized trench coats with extra-long sleeves, meanwhile, provided a stylish solution to spring outerwear.

The collection concluded with a cavalcade of colour: pops of fuchsia on biker jackets, and an all-sky-blue short set. Standout items included a chocolate brown leather suit (a nod to the burgeoning queer scene of the Nineties), trailing faux-fur stoles



that offered an aristocratic flair. There was also a floor-length black fitted dress with a keyhole on the torso, proving that the cutout trend will maintain its stronghold over our spring/summer wardrobes next year.

The final look bookended the collection with another all-black outfit, as a male model walked the runway in leather trousers and a silk corset. On his head? The kind of black netted fascinator we'll likely see much of at the Queen's funeral.

After a triumphant and colourful close to day one from Harris Reed, we began day two by making our way to Westminster's London Scottish House for the Bora Aksu show.



**Bora Aksu's show explored the 'relationship between innocence and perversion' (Bora Aksu/Stefan Knauer)**

Not far from the winding queue to see the Queen's procession, the show began with a minute's silence. As a thoughtful touch, bows had also been left on seats for show-goers to wear in tribute.

A drum roll dramatically broke after the 60 seconds, played by the show's first model, who marched the light-filled venue in head-to-toe shades of white and cream. So began what the show notes described as an "anarchistic dreamscape" exploring the "relationship between innocence and perversion".



In a departure from his last two collections in tribute to overlooked women, for spring/summer 2023 Aksu was inspired by artists Henry Darger and Marcel Dzama to explore femininity through an altogether darker lens. However, it wasn't without the Turkish designer's signature flounce, flamboyance and pretty colour palette. Layered lace and silky deconstructed skirts kicked out from 1930s-style tailored military jackets topped by kepi hats, berets and in some cases horns; a nod to tropes from the two artists' work.

Broderie anglaise dresses in buttercup yellow were in contrast to co-ord sweater and hot pant sets worn with peekaboo buttoned tights and more revealing lace slips. The latter looks symbolising experience over innocence, presumably. With their playful feel, you can definitely imagine Aksu fans like Zendaya and Elle Fanning debuting some of them on the red carpet.

As with seasons past, repurposed fabrics remained a thread of the show, with damaged and rejected limited quantity materials incorporated into the demi-couture seamlessly. The two final looks? Puff-sleeve frocks covered in polkadots and a white lace gown confection worn with a bonnet, both of which cemented the wow factor of our first show of the day.



Edward Crutchley's show, three storeys deep in a car park, showcased his mastery of fabric (Maja Smiejowska)



Next up, we headed to central London for British designer Edward Crutchley's latest offering. The show was located three storeys deep in a car park, meaning Paul, the driver of our Volvo C40 Charge car, could conveniently park up while we went to find a seat in the flood-light industrial space.

The echoey setting allowed the perfect acoustics for a sudden soundtrack of whale noise and lapping waves. This set the tone for the show's inspiration: Ancient Greece's relationship to the ever-changing sea and philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus's notion that "everything always flows".

The first models emerged in iridescent dresses and shirts made from cloqué: a double fabric with a jacquard effect, developed exclusively for the show. More examples of Crutchley's mastery of fabric followed in the form of a sheer, form-fitting bodycon dress with fish scale-like embellishment, as well as knits in rainbow shades and wet-look trenches.

The English designer has previously rebuked the term "gender neutral" in reference to his collections, preferring to say simply they are "clothes" for "whoever buys them". The models were dressed with clothes that fitted their form, not gender stereotypes, with muscular male models looking club-ready in bejewelled corsets and thongs, while the tallest wore sculpted, heavily layered iridescent gowns nipped at the waist.

Accessories included an intricate beaded mask worn just across the jaw (bye-bye Covid time face coverings), while all of the models teetered across the car park in mega-high holographic platforms. As the show was nearing to a close, the whale sounds and white noise abruptly stopped, giving way to a pumping club beat, which helped to drive home the collection's party credentials.

Next, we swapped underground for upscale elegance, heading to the Temperley London presentation in a stunningly palatial Notting Hill house. Tea was served while Alice Temperley worked the room. All of the signatures you'd expect from this whimsical, elegant label, which is now run from Temperley's Somerset atelier, were present.



Intricately embroidered gowns with map motifs, silky shell print kaftans and seersucker dresses lined a rack of clothes that look perfect for holidays and cruises. Halter dresses with sheer panels and floral embroidery, or lame polkadots had an air of boho evening elegance.

Then it was time for Mark Fast, the perfect man to get the party started before a Friday night, 1980s style. As we arrived at 180 The Strand, neon lights and a soundtrack blasting from a huge sound system by the likes of electronic duo Overmono, set the tone for a rave-ready collection.

Aerobics wear, such as bodysuits and ankle warmers, were brought up to date for modern partying with ribbed details, tassels and cutouts. Of course, Fast's signature knitted bodycon dresses were updated in neon with these playful details, too.



Upscale elegance from Temperley in Notting Hill (Temperley)

More 1980s references were seen in power suiting, rara skirts, graffiti print shirts and stone-washed denim – pieces for those who don't subscribe as heavily to Fast's go bold or go home approach to silhouettes.

The commercial success of Fast's fashion was reflected in just how many tribes were catered for in this collection, which was designed to celebrate "physicality, presenting a range centred on acceptance of one's own self and embracement of



everybody”. The show notes gave mention to the fact that the designer has doubled his number of stores in Asia in the past few years – a huge feat during the pandemic, a time that threatened the death of bricks and mortar shopping.

Finally, it was on to KNWLS, the cult south London-based label loved by Dua Lipa, Julia Fox, and Emma Corrin. Renowned for its sexy, stringy corsets and daring cutout ensembles that are just as sensual as they are impractical, KNWLS has established itself at the vanguard of the disruptive feminine aesthetic we’ve seen across womenswear in recent seasons.

The brand has made a triumphant return to LFW after missing out on a real-life show last season. It was founded in 2017 by Charlotte Knowles and her partner Alexandre Arsenault; they met as students at Central Saint Martins. Located in The Mills Fabrica, an industrial concrete hall in north London, the show was bigger than most, with a single row snaking around the entire space.

As the lights went down, a thrumming bassline began. Trance music paid homage to the traditional, beat-heavy fashion show soundtrack we rarely hear nowadays. It was an indication of the nostalgia-fuelled collection that was to come. If you have tired of the Y2K trend, well, you’re not going to like this: KNWLS’s spring/summer 2023 collection was essentially a paean to the era, showing that this Gen Z-favoured aesthetic is going absolutely nowhere.

Comprising a classic KNWLS palette of earthy browns, ochres, dusky pinks, and greys, the collection began by serving up a series of lace-up mesh flares (ties on the thighs) with matching crop tops. Silhouettes became progressively more daring: think low-rise black fitted flares with wide-open corsetry styled over KNWLS’s signature crossover bralettes.

And then there was denim; so much denim. Taking cues from Britney and Christina in the early Noughties, the flares were uber-low-rise and stone-washed. The shape was reimagined elsewhere with triangular-rise jeans paired with a matching cropped jacket featuring an oversized collar. There were wide-



leg styles, too, accessorised with matching denim handbags and giant belt buckles.

We also saw brown leather aplenty: in matching skirt co-ords, in handbags, and, on one occasion, a shearling jacket that looked straight out of *Almost Famous*. As is the norm for the era, the miniskirts were pleated and very, very mini, in the style of Miu Miu's co-ord offering that famously went viral earlier this year. There were bodysuits, too, coming in high-rise styles and with visible thongs in the back.

Finally, there was a dose of girlish charm by way of several flippy pink mini dresses, one of which was styled with a belted leather jacket in the same cheery shade. Frankly, we would wear every single piece of this collection – it might be tapping into a trend that's been around for several seasons now, but hey... if it ain't broke.

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INDEPENDENT

17 SEPTEMBER 2022



# CULTURE

FROM COMMENT TO CELEBRITY PROFILES, WE EXPLORE THE WEEK IN ARTS

## MELANIE C

*Was Thatcher the  
first Spice Girl?  
Absolutely not*











# ‘We’ve come together, and all the wounds are healed’

Sporty Spice’s new memoir, ‘Who I Am’, details the gruelling reality of being in the biggest girlband in the world. She talks to **Jessie Thompson** about the things she learnt along the way



Melanie C: ‘I just realised that I’m still that person. I’ve never really changed’ (Press )

Melanie C’s arms are raised like a champion fighter. I spy the famous Celtic armband tattoo. I clock the muscles. And then she bellows, “Super Muuuuum!” before dissolving into eye-crinkling



laughter. The singer was recently away with her 13-year-old daughter and her friends; one went out too far on a paddle board, and C – short for Chisholm – swam to the rescue.

It wasn't her first superhero-ish moment. At the height of Spicemanía, when media interest was at its most intense and unboundaried, a *Sun* journalist accompanied her to meet a just-discovered half-sister, Emma, in Llandudno. "How crazy is my life, right? I mean, *what* the fuck?" she recalls now, eyes popping.

But once the photographers had gone, the siblings spent some time alone together on the beach. They spotted some boys who'd bullied Emma for – they thought – lying about having a Spice Girl for a sister. So Chisholm rocked up and, proper Scouse, said, "Alright?"

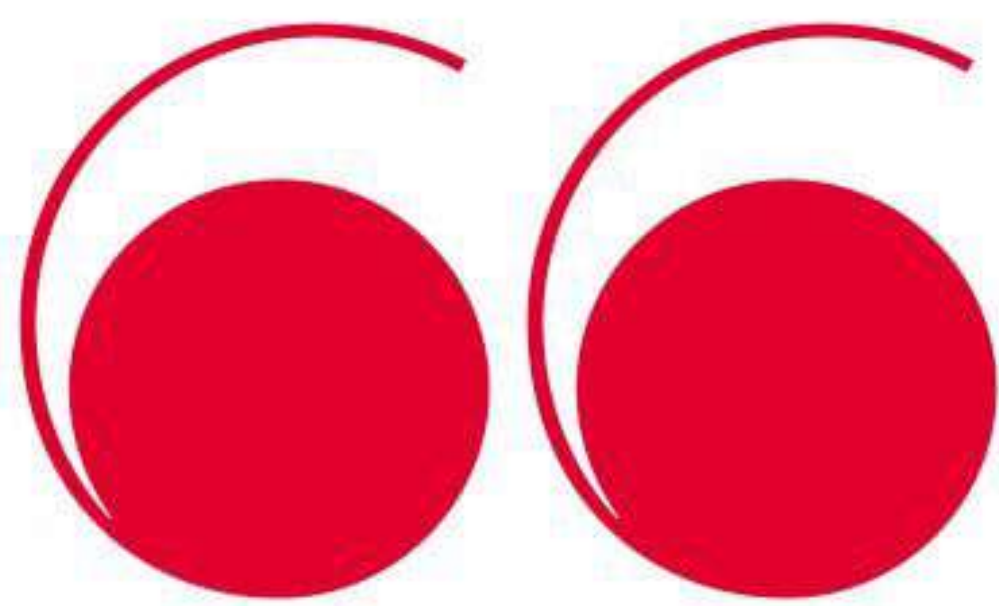
Being a Spice Girls fan, unfortunately, does not make you a superhero. It makes you normal. Still, my generation and I nurture a slightly embarrassing urge to express how much they meant to us, at any opportunity. Did I text everyone I knew to say I was interviewing Sporty Spice? I couldn't comment. (One friend: "Omg she's the best one"; my mum: "Did you tell her how much you loved the Spice Girls?")

Perhaps the group's psychic hold remains so visceral because that moment, when they were the biggest girlband – maybe biggest *anything* – in the world, was so brief and electric. Talking to Chisholm, I certainly feel like I'm speaking to someone I've known for years, and I can't tell if it's her heart-on-sleeve breeziness or the hours I spent poring over my *Spice World* VHS tape. And yet, according to Chisholm's long-anticipated memoir *Who I Am*, released this week, we did not really know her at all.

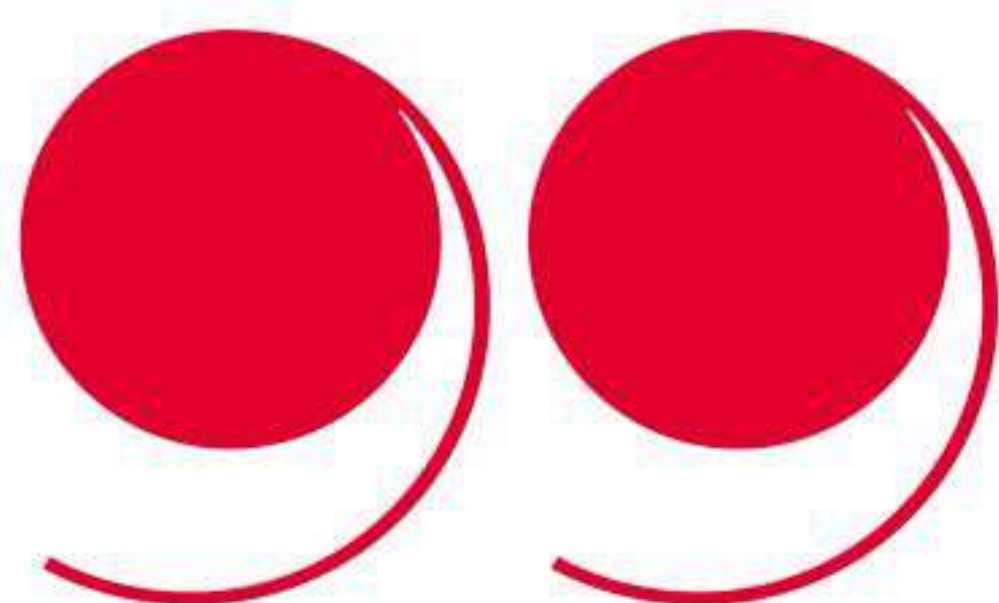
Within its pages, she details her humble upbringing in working-class Widnes, the disorientating fame and wealth brought by the Spice Girls in the Nineties, her often-torturous time in the group, the devastating impact it had on her mental health, and her dogged commitment to making her own music. Reading it, I'm surprised she fought on for a solo career after the Spice



Girls' demise: it began with a baptism-of-fire bottle-pelting at the 1999 V Festival.



**Fundamentally, we go in search of ourselves, don't we? We spend our lives trying to better ourselves. But at the end of the day, we are who we are**



Clearly, Chisholm is a bit of a trooper, and her story is one of self-acceptance and resilience. It's been 26 years since the release of "Wannabe". Other than Emma Bunton, she is the last Spice Girl to write about her life. Why now?

"Gosh. It has been a long time, hasn't it?" says the 48-year-old. "The way celebrity culture has been in the last 20 years, people tend to do it a bit sooner, don't they? But... I never felt ready," she says on Zoom from her Hampstead home, in a light-filled attic room. She wanted to own her narrative and share experiences that might be useful to others – but she also had reservations; re-reading old press coverage, she writes, sent her "into a dark place for about a week".

And there is a lot of darkness in the book, from mental health struggles to the story of being sexually assaulted by a hotel masseur the night before a Spice Girls concert. Chisholm showed *Who I Am* to her close family and the rest of the band first, to make sure they were "comfortable with the way I've spoken about things that involved them".

Her experience of fame left an uncomfortable legacy, so much so that she admits it took her until 2014 to be able to watch the 1998 *Spice World* film. But the group's 2019 stadium reunion



tour – minus Victoria Beckham – marked a turning point for Chisholm. After years of frustration and self-criticism, something clicked into place on stage. Looking out at the euphoric crowds, she explains, “[I was] just like... ‘*Fuck*’. I think all of us girls realised the impact we’d had on *so* many people, and I just realised that... I’m still that person. I’ve never really changed.

“Fundamentally, we go in search of ourselves, don’t we? We spend our lives trying to better ourselves. But at the end of the day, we are who we are. And it was at that point when I felt, wow. I am Sporty Spice. And Melanie C. And a mum.” She underlines each with a nod of the head. “I’m all of these things, all of the time.”

It feels like the world is only just catching up with Chisholm, though. In recent years, a new-found appreciation has emerged. She’s a vocal LGBT+ ally. A committed performer. And a candid mental health advocate. We even seem to like female sportspeople now. (The Lionesses, Chisholm says, “outshine the men in so many ways. And that’s because they’ve had to fight.”)



The Spice Girls performing at the Brit Awards (PA Archive)

Perhaps the singer’s longevity is down to the fact that she clearly never believed her own hype. The inner monologue she describes in *Who I Am*, as she battled eating disorders and self-punishing exercise routines, was relentless: “You’ve just got to be a robot – no feelings, no excuses, no pain.”



Still, she's somehow stayed relatively grounded, something she puts down to her working-class background. It's clear Chisholm never forgot what it was like not to have money. "Money was tight when I was a kid. There was no extra," she says. So many family and friends "still work really, really hard to make ends meet, so I'm still very much aware of that side".

A surreal YouTube clip from 1998 shows the band on *Oprah*, talking about buying houses for their parents with their first paycheques. But that affluence was always tinged with guilt for Chisholm. "I'm doing something I love, and I could earn in a day what some of my family wouldn't even earn in a year. You would just want to give and keep giving all the time, because you think, 'Oh my God, I don't even know if I deserve all this money. Please, you take it, you need it more than I do.'"

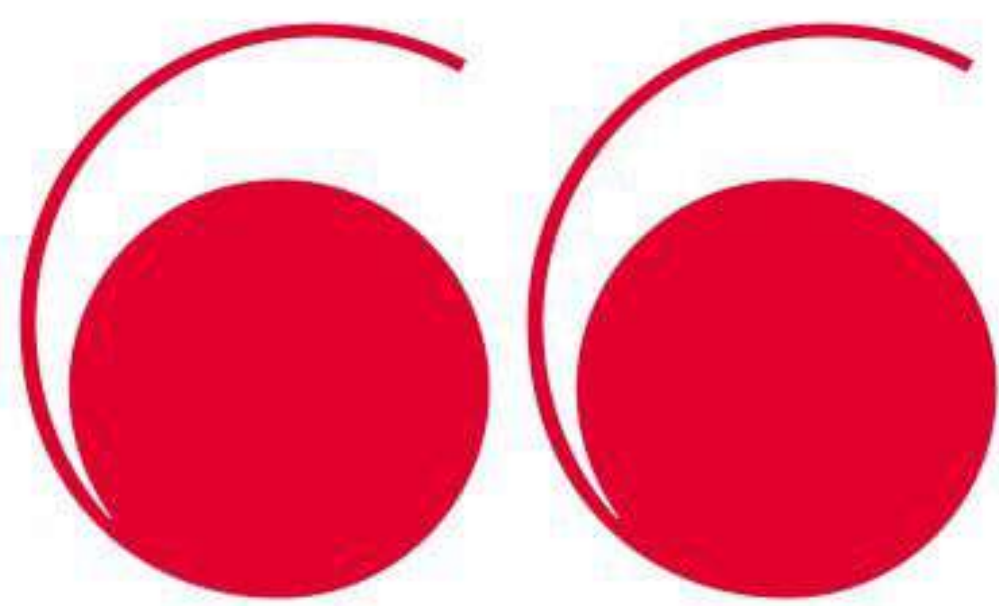
The Spice Girls era seemed to be defined by escapades, many of which Chisholm gleefully recounts in her pages. The day they signed their first record deal, and they got so drunk that Posh's knickers went out of a limo window before she later fell asleep in her dinner. The time one of them did a wee in Elton John's pot plant at the Four Seasons. The moment when, for some reason, they stole Seal's phone number and rang him up, barking like seals down the phone.

That sense of anarchy was part of their appeal, but it must also have been exhausting. As was their schedule: Chisholm documents old diary entries with disbelief. What their workload did to them would now be described as burnout. "We *definitely* were burnt out. I believe part of Geri [Halliwell] not being able to stay in the band any longer was because she was burnt out. She needed to go away and recuperate, as we all did, after the tour in 1998. Obviously" – she points a finger at herself – "silly bollocks didn't, she went and made another record!"

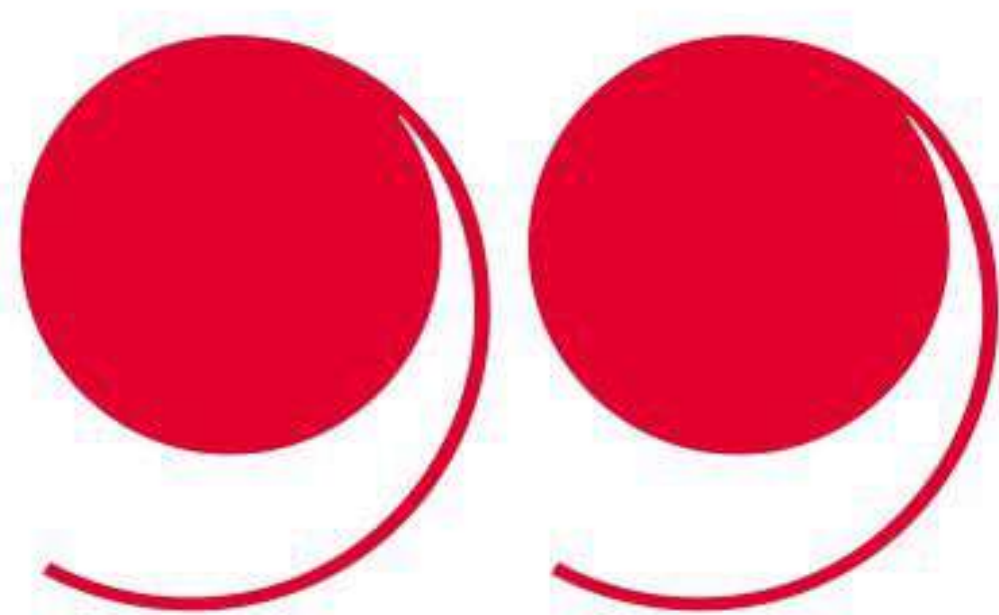
It's hard to know if going at a slower pace would have meant they'd stuck around for longer, Chisholm reflects, but she doesn't think Halliwell regretted her decision to leave. (In the book, Geri sometimes seems volatile, first threatening to quit after an argument about the *Say You'll Be There* video.) "It's all



part of the story, isn't it? And we've come together, and all the wounds are healed, and we're back in each other's lives."



**You know, I'm a big old crusader for women, but I do truly believe that women are quite intimidating to men, often. And that's why, in certain areas, they tried to keep us small or quiet**



For Chisholm, Halliwell's departure felt like "the beginning of the end". At the time they were "*deeeevastated*, devastated. And angry. And confused." But, she smiles, "the thing is with the Spice Girls, there's always a drama. And that was the big one." They are all "quite philosophical" about the way it panned out.

Disagreements intensified as the schedule became more punishing, but Chisholm had felt tense from the start. She writes in the book that "perhaps there was an element of keeping me in my place. It was subtle at first, but soon I was being told what to say, or rather what not to say. 'Better yet, Melanie,' I was told, 'maybe don't speak at all.'" An incident at the Brits, when Chisholm told Victoria Beckham to "fuck off", resulted in a threat to drop her from the band, which left a deep scar. "I started consciously to make myself smaller," she writes. "My confidence began to be stripped away, and it happened so quickly."

Hearing about her growing reticence back then casts old interviews and appearances in a different light, such as one 1996 interview with *The Spectator* about the group's political views. It prompted an enduring fascination with their opinions ("Inside



the curious politics of the Spice Girls” was the headline of another article in 2019). At the time, Halliwell went off on one: “We Spice Girls are true Thatcherites. Thatcher was the first Spice Girl, the pioneer of our ideology – Girl Power.” Chisholm must have been mortified. With a smile, she diplomatically confirms that she never shared these views.

The band was about celebrating individuality, so she found it frustrating when it was assumed its members only had one opinion. So she doesn’t think Maggie T was the first Spice Girl? “Abbbbsolutely not!” she says, amused. “Geri, in the past, was very vocal about her support for Margaret Thatcher. I’m from Liverpool. It was a name that was not celebrated in that region. They were never the thoughts or feelings that I shared. People knowing me, from the things I do, are quite aware of what kind of person I am. I don’t think people think I’m a raging Tory!”

It was “slightly misguided” and “so inappropriate” for them to be speaking to *The Spectator* in the first place, but another instance of being pushed in a hundred directions by their team. “There have been a couple of times in my career when I’ve been nervous about going home. And that was one of them.”

Now older and wiser, the Spice Girls remain close friends, and yet fights within bands (think of Little Mix’s public fallout with former member Jesy Nelson) remain a fixation. Particularly when it comes to girl groups. “The nature of bands, there’s always tension, and often that’s the magic, whether it’s The Rolling Stones or Oasis. But tabloid media in particular do have an obsession with females not getting on. Females not supporting each other,” says Chisholm. “It’s just this narrative that’s happened through time. You know, I’m a big old crusader for women, but I do truly believe that women” – a little chuckle – “are quite intimidating to men, often. And that’s why, in certain areas, they tried to keep us small or quiet.”



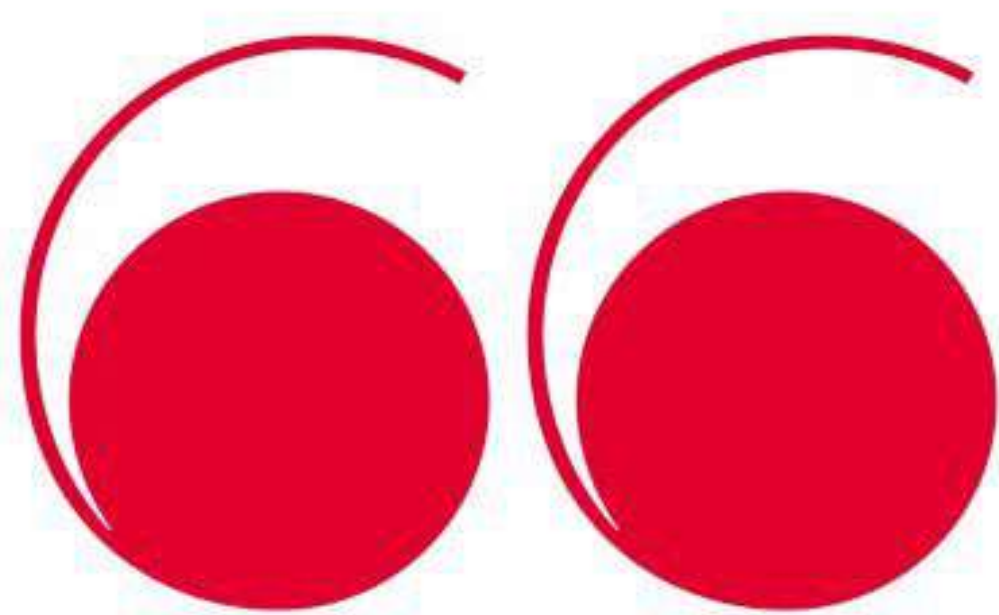
‘I don’t think people think I’m a raging Tory!’ (Press)



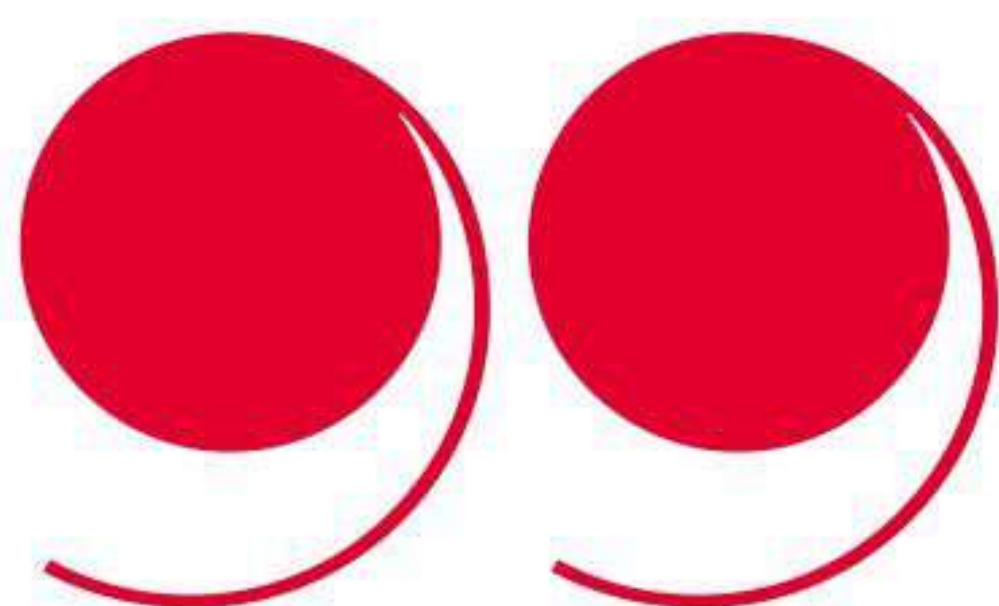
That theory, you might argue, is apparent in the press coverage Chisholm has been subjected to over the years. She recalls shockingly intrusive moments, like when Richard Madeley asked if she was a lesbian live on TV, or the endless criticism of her appearance. In recent years, our culture has reassessed that behaviour, condemning blatant sexism as well as the exploitation of stars like Britney Spears, and we have a clearer understanding of the mental health impact of life in the spotlight.

That “dark side of fame” has been there for ever, Chisholm thinks, giving Judy Garland as an example of a vulnerable person pressured constantly to perform. “You become a commodity. You are making other people money. So they have to keep you in this place where you’re able to do that. And I don’t think that is done with your human interest at heart.”

But time and wisdom have taught her that nothing is all good or all bad. “My time with the Spice Girls was incredible and exciting, literally my wildest dreams coming true. But also... it broke me, you know. Physically, mentally, emotionally. It was really, really hard.” In the book she makes suggestions for how young stars could be better equipped to handle fame; the recent news of Sam Fender cancelling tour dates for his mental wellbeing suggests that some of it is beginning to happen.



**We’re just always chipping away! Trying to get her to come back. We’re just hoping at some point we can convince her. Just one last time!**





As for the Spices getting back on the road, “there’s nothing in the pipeline, or arranged or confirmed”, Chisholm explains, her voice wistful. “It’s more of a feeling.” After their 2019 tour, they had intended to visit territories they’d not performed in before, but the pandemic put a stop to it. “The four of us really want to do more shows, it’s just making it work for everybody,” she explains. Beckham hasn’t performed with them since the 2012 Olympics, but “we’re just always chipping away! Trying to get her to come back. We’re just hoping at some point we can convince her. Just one last time!” She breaks into the dirtiest of laughs.

Zig-a-zig-ah may have lasted longer in the memory than her own material, but *Who I Am* is a reminder that Chisholm has been beaver away at a solo career for many years now. It’s a fascinating insight into how the industry has changed – after being dropped by her record company in 2004, she released music on her own label, something that was no longer viable once streaming made the industry less financially lucrative for musicians.

Relisten to *Northern Star* and her pain seems close to the surface. On the album’s title track, she sings: “They buy your dreams so they can sell your soul.” Her recent self-titled album – her most successful in a decade – is, by contrast, celebratory: “When I look in the mirror, I finally like what I see,” she sings on “Who I Am”.

“Here I am. I’m 48. And I’m still making pop music,” she says now, with clear pride. Once again: Sporty Spice to the rescue.

*‘Who I Am’ is out now, published by Welbeck*

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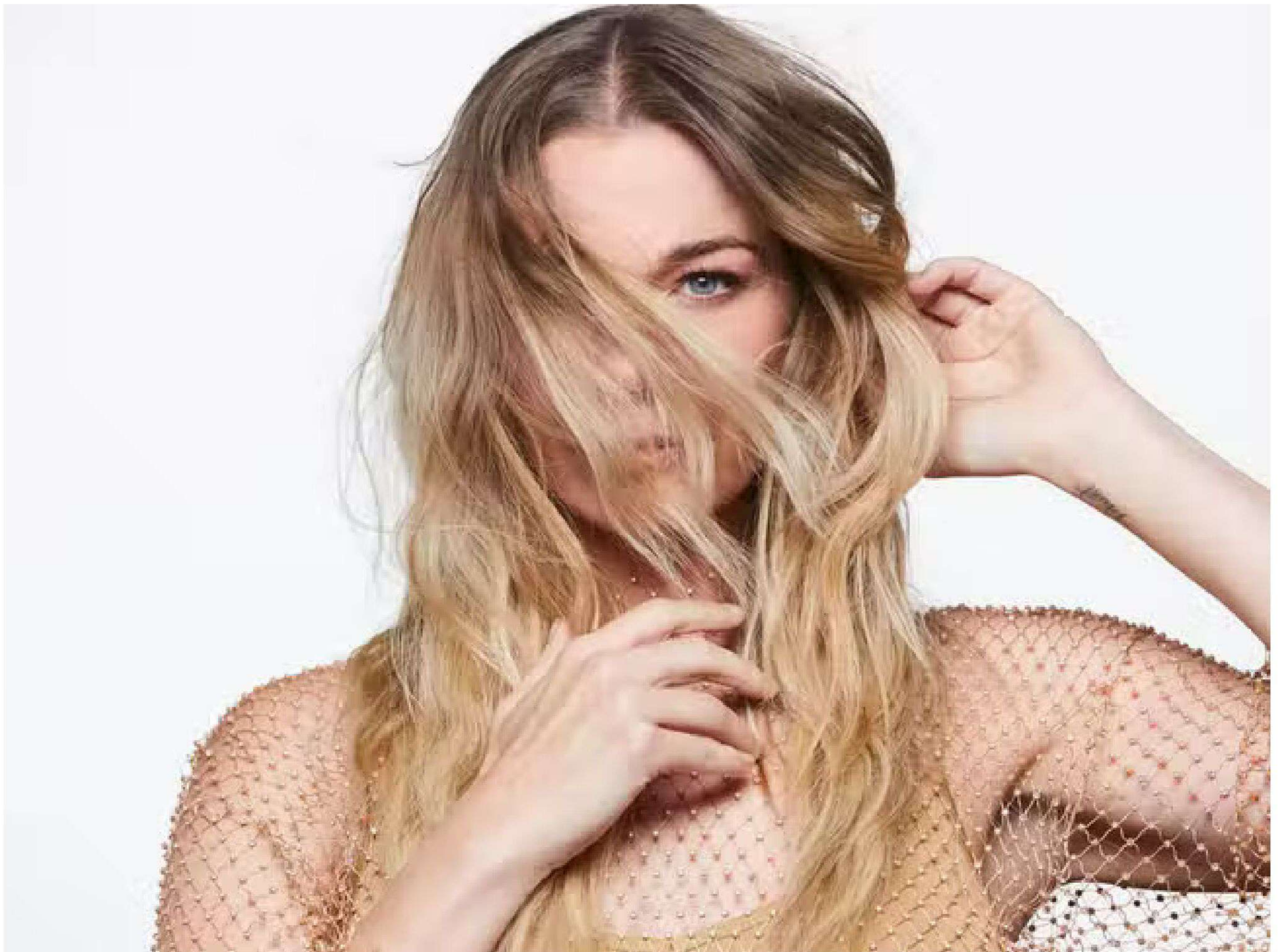
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# ‘No one can prepare you for success at such a young age’

LeAnn Rimes dives in at the deep end with **Leonie Cooper**, discussing her brand new album, the trials of being a teenage star, and her close friendship with the late Taylor Hawkins



LeAnn Rimes: ‘There’s so much that I want to share with people’ (Norman Seeff)

When LeAnn Rimes says “I’m not one for small talk”, she means it. On the phone to the singer at her home in Los Angeles, it



quickly becomes clear that this is someone who, unlike other polished pop stars, favours big issues over hollow platitudes.

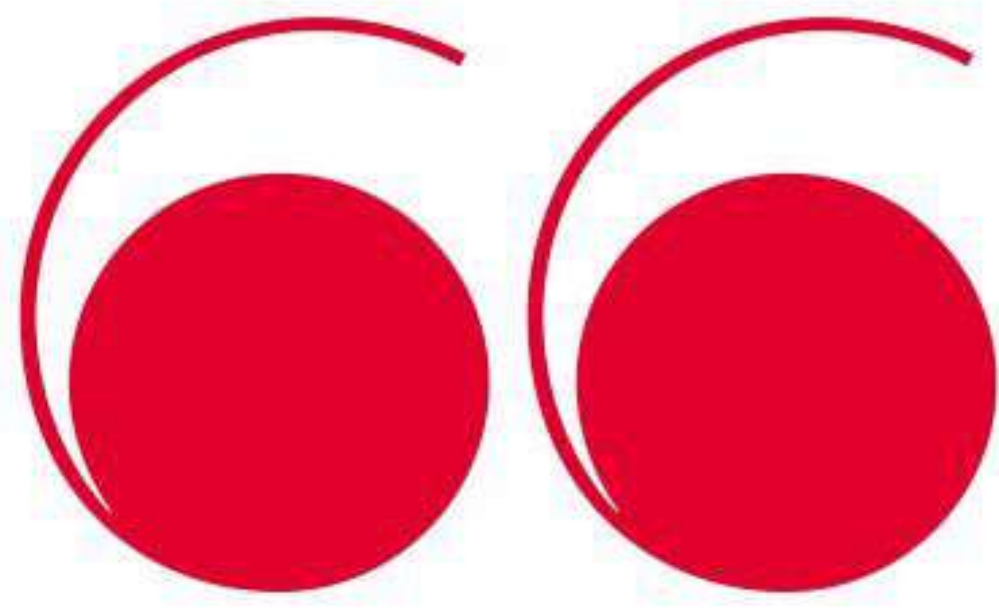
For the past couple of years, the singer, actor and all-round megastar has also done what many other pop stars have done: start a podcast. But hers goes deeper than most. In *Wholly Human*, Rimes digs into the human psyche and, more often than not, her emotional wounds. “Every episode is a form of therapy,” she laughs, suggesting that the concept of sharing her innermost thoughts with strangers might not be as heavy-going as it sounds.

“I’m a very curious person,” she adds. “I just wanted to have a space where I could connect with people and learn alongside them on a human level.” Considering she is a former child star, who forsook a normal teenage life for the isolation of celebrity, Rimes’s need for connection is understandable. The Mississippi-born and Texas-raised singer turned 40 last month, but was just 13 when she was thrust onto the global stage.

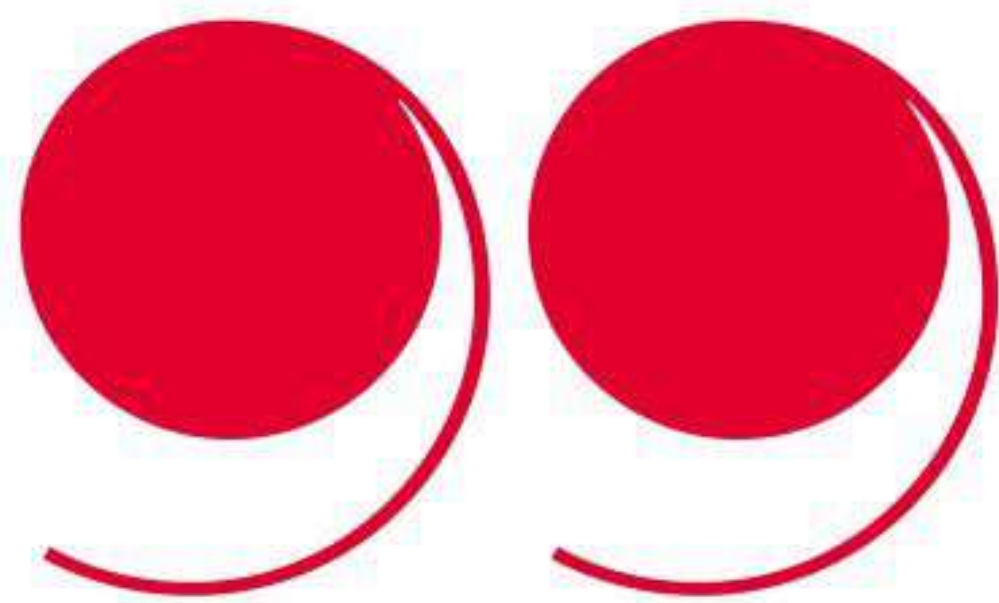
Her powerful version of Fifties country classic “Blue” went stratospheric and was followed by the smash hit power ballad “How Do I Live” in 1997. At 14, she was the youngest solo artist to win a Grammy award, for Best New Artist, and the following year she became the first country singer to win Artist of the Year at the Billboard Music Awards. And yet success came at a cost. “I grew up as ‘the little girl with the big voice,’” she reflects. “But so much of my humanity was left out.”

Rimes has long been keen to show other sides to herself. “Yes, I have this great voice, and yes, I am a songwriter and I create art, but there’s so much that I want to share with people,” she says. There’s certainly plenty of that on her 15th studio album, *God’s Work*, with its searching, perceptive songwriting about struggle and acceptance. *Wholly Human*, with its “deeper conversations”, has helped to address Rimes’s endless curiosity, too. Guests on the podcast so far have included life coach Martha Beck, motivational speaker Mel Robbins, and author Bethany Webster.





**When you're in the public eye, everybody wants to make money off of that at the end of the day. You become a commodity instead of a human being, and that's what breaks my heart**



With Webster, Rimes discussed the “mother wound”, a theory that your relationship with your mother affects every other relationship in your life. It’s an episode Rimes says was particularly challenging, and in it she brands her relationship with her mother “traumatic”. “That conversation was pretty intense,” says Rimes now. “I thought I projected my daddy issues onto my husband – and I’ve just recognised it’s not my daddy issues, it’s my mommy issues,” she confesses with a gasp on the podcast.

Rimes and her mother became a tight unit when they moved to California together in 1997 following her parents’ divorce. Then, in 2000, Rimes became embroiled in a lawsuit with her father, Wilbur C Rimes, and her former manager, Lyle Walker, alleging they had cheated her out of around \$7m (£6.16m) worth of earnings from the previous five years. With Rimes still a minor, her mother Belinda Rimes filed the suit on her behalf.

Though not as extreme as the case of Britney Spears’s conservatorship, which was run by Spears’s father, there’s a clear comparison in these experiences. “I definitely see a lot of similarities,” says Rimes, who is just nine months younger than Spears. Not only did the two come up together in the late Nineties pop era, and have less-than-conventional working



relationships with their fathers, but both suffered in an industry in which young women are often made to feel as if they are for sale.

“When you’re in the public eye, everybody wants to make money off of that at the end of the day,” says Rimes. “You become a commodity instead of a human being, and that’s what breaks my heart. And I’ve been there – I’ve experienced a lot of the same things. My heart deeply goes out to her.” The pair aren’t close, but Rimes has felt protective of her fellow artist nonetheless. “I just saw something about her ex-husband and his family doing an interview about her, and my first thought was, ‘Leave this poor woman alone! She’s been through enough!’”

Rimes will be the first to admit that breaking through as a child was terrifying. “No one can prepare you for fame, especially the way that I skyrocketed to success at such a young age,” she says. “I was never prepared for that.” At her peak, she played 500 shows in three and a half years. And that was before “Can’t Fight the Moonlight” came out.



Rimes performing at MusiCares Person of the Year in 2020  
(Getty/The Recording Academy)

The song was a huge hit from the 2000 film *Coyote Ugly* – in which she also starred as herself – but by the time it was released, Rimes was ready to take a back seat. “I did zero press for that song,” she remembers, “Zero TV appearances while it



was No 1 in 11 countries. There was a good solid eight months where I was like, ‘I’m over this, I can’t do this any more.’”

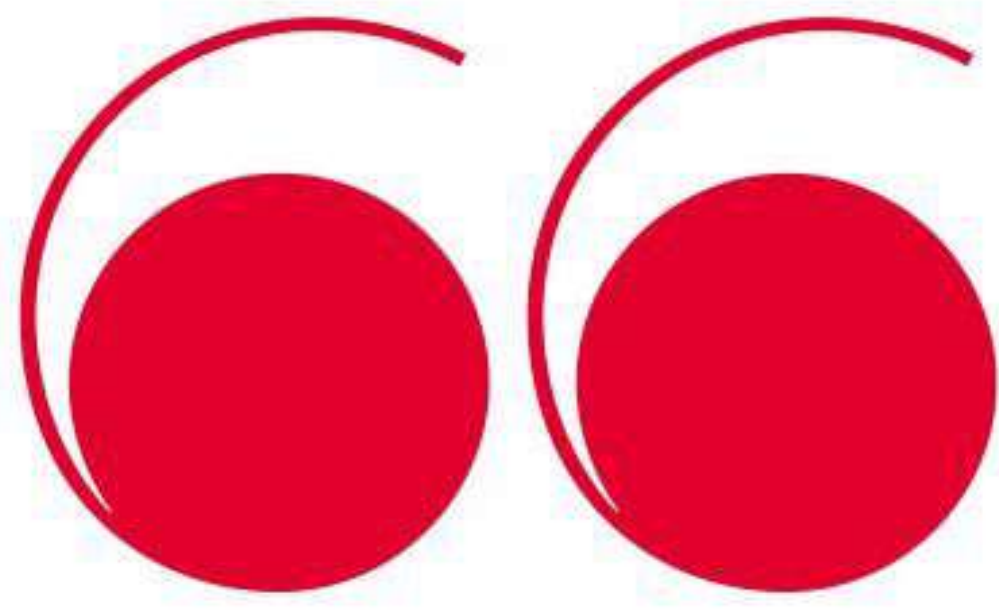
This was all happening at the same time as Rimes was embroiled in the lawsuit with her father and label. A compilation, *I Need You*, was released in January 2001 to help Rimes complete her contract obligations, but she quickly disowned the album. In 2002 she was finally able to branch out on her own. The pop-leaning *Twisted Angel* would be Rimes’s first record made away from her father’s management company, and the first on which he would not serve as producer. Rimes took the executive producer title for herself.

In that same year, Rimes married professional dancer Dean Sheremet. Four more albums followed *Twisted Angel* in the 2000s, until Rimes hit the tabloid headlines again, almost a decade after her legal battle, with news of an affair with Eddie Cibrian, her co-star in the 2009 TV movie *Northern Lights*. In 2014, the pair – who married in 2011 – went on to star in their own VH1 reality show.

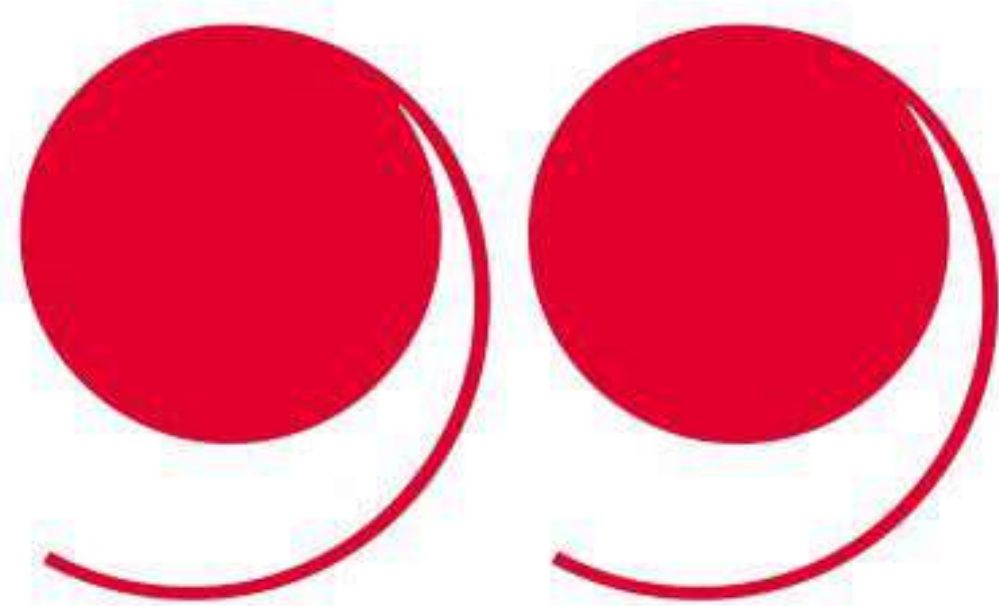
“We had gone through so much publicly in the press, and it was our way to take back the narrative,” says Rimes. “You either crumble under the weight of that or try to have a sense of humour about it, and I think it was our way to poke fun at everything.” Despite this, a flirtation with reality stardom is not a move Rimes is likely to repeat. “Would we do it again now? Absolutely not!”

In 2019, Rimes embarked on an even more unlikely collaboration, lending her powerhouse vocals to “C U in Hell”, a lavish, prog-leaning rock anthem on Taylor Hawkins & The Coattail Riders’ 2019 album *Got the Money*. Later this month she will appear at the Los Angeles tribute concert for the much-loved Foo Fighters drummer, who died earlier this year. Perhaps one of the more surprising names on the bill, Rimes was in fact close friends with Hawkins. Neighbours in LA, they also found a common connection in their Texan upbringings.





**This has been played out since the beginning of time, where women have not been able to be our full sovereign selves in this world. Guns have more rights than women do at this moment in time, here in America**



“I saw him practically every day, riding his bike or walking with his wife,” says Rimes. “Our sons went to the same school.” After Hawkins saw Rimes performing at a school event, he reached out with collaboration on his mind. “He was like, ‘Oh my God, we need to do something together.’ He was honestly one of the kindest, most generous and unassuming people you would ever meet,” she adds. “So joyful. It breaks my heart still, to this day, to think that he’s not here any more.”

Since winning the 2020 US season of *The Masked Singer* as the crowd-pleasing Sun, Rimes has been laser-focused on her creative projects. As well as the podcast, there’s *God’s Work*, which comes six years after 2016’s *Remnants*. “It’s probably the longest it’s ever taken me to make a record,” says Rimes of *God’s Work*. “I didn’t have writer’s block, but I was a bit uninspired,” she explains. For better or worse, the trials of Covid-19 gave Rimes a fresh perspective. “As a creator, I allowed life to influence me as it was unfolding.”

One song in particular, the feminist battle cry of “The Wild” – which features co-vocals from country star Mickey Guyton and drumming from the legendary Sheila E. – is thought by many to be about recent setbacks in women’s reproductive health,



opening with the raging lines: “The persecution of the woman/ The burning has gone on for too fucking long”. “When people listen to the song here in America, they think that I wrote it about that,” she says. “I’m like, nope, but it sure does apply!”

Though the song was recorded well before the overturning of *Roe v Wade*, abortion rights are still an issue that Rimes feels passionately about. “This is not a new narrative,” she says. “This has been played out since the beginning of time, where women have not been able to be our full sovereign selves in this world. Guns have more rights than women do at this moment in time, here in America.”

“I am hoping this album makes people think and makes them question,” she adds. “Do I really believe everything that I’ve been fed? How can I show up in a more loving way and a more compassionate way? I’m hoping that I leave a piece of that in this world, with this kind of record.”

*‘God’s Work’ is out now*

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# THE MOURN IDENTITY

Round-the-clock coverage of the Queen's lying-in-state – described as 'the most British thing ever' – risks turning a respectful ritual into a caricature, says **Jessie Thompson**



Members of the public appear on a BBC livestream as they file past the Queen's coffin (PA Wire)

There has been plenty of exceptional broadcasting after the death of the Queen, a much-planned-for event that, somehow, still feels bigger than anyone could have anticipated. The presenters have been heroes – solemnly narrating a shot of a gate for hours on end is quite a skill – and being able to watch King Charles III's proclamation ceremony, televised for the first time, was goosebump-worthy. But there's always a moment



when it all starts to get a bit silly, and that moment has now arrived with the surreal livestream of the Queen's lying-in-state. Her coffin is in Westminster Hall before her funeral on Monday, so that the public can pay respects; for five days, it will be filmed 24 hours a day. Anyone can tune in as people file past – some in rucksacks and raincoats, some in their best black hats – watery-eyed, bowing their heads before moving on. As I write, nearly 15,000 people are watching it on the BBC's website.

Joining the queue to see the Queen lying at rest is a major, physically gruelling commitment – the waiting time was 14 hours until it was closed yesterday for reaching capacity. In a practical sense, then, the livestream is there not just for the curious but those who can't manage the long wait. Some have said how much they're enjoying it, finding it calming and peaceful. And there have been major technological advances since Britain last had a new monarch, so why not? That urge to get it all on film is understandable – we're all a bit awed by the sheer history-ness of it all. But the livestream feels a bit like taking pictures on your phone that you'll never look at again, when you should have just been savouring what was happening right in front of you.

The relentless filming of the event has stripped it of its strange power, blunted its magisterial edges and turned it into something strangely voyeuristic. I find it immensely moving that each person, for their own specific reason, has taken the decision to be there. But, as the camera zooms in on people's faces as they walk past, the tone is strangely intrusive. It becomes a quirky spectacle, rather than the profound moment of respect and grief that's clearly present in the room. Everyone's making the same joke: it's like the retro Channel 4 *Big Brother* livestream. It's weird to see mourning turned into reality TV.

That its gravity has been lost in translation is also causing a lot of people to declare how “very British” it all is. What's becoming clear is that “very British” is actually a codeword for “eccentric”. The livestream seems to epitomise that. One person wrote on Twitter: “Saw there is a dedicated livestream for the Queen lying



in state and I have to ask is Great Britain okay.” Another: “There is nothing more British than people queuing for 2.5 miles to see the Queen, being able to track the queue online, then watching it on livestream.” Of course, it looks fundamentally absurd to watch people patiently wait for their turn to do a sad bow. But to be there, part of this strange but dignified ritual, clearly feels very different.



Those in the long queue to see the Queen's lying-in-state at Westminster Hall make their way past Tower Bridge (AP)

The performatively twee idea of Britishness is looming large throughout this period of mourning. “The queue” has overtaken Paddington Bear as our new national symbol of soft stoicism. Everything feels anachronistic and yet somehow exactly as it should be. The royal parks have had to ask people to stop leaving marmalade sandwiches; the Ladbroke's over the road from me has filled its windows with tributes to the Queen. But being here – in the room, as it were – I find that eccentricity is endearing, reassuring even.

It's when it's severed from its real-life atmosphere that it looks overblown and caricature-like. And with that, there's always a looming danger of a slide into snobbery. “How long until they become memes,” asked one person on Twitter. I feel a tenderness towards those who wanted to make that trip; by zooming in, we never feel far from a general sense of “why are you, a weird person, doing this weird thing?”



Besides, it's obvious that the TV coverage will continue to be weird enough. You only have to turn on the TV to see the latest weird thing someone is saying or doing. I watched Sky News for five minutes this morning, and historian Anthony Seldon was, unrelatably, extolling the virtues of pilgrimages to Kay Burley. "We all need pilgrimages in our lives," he declared. "As a former headteacher, doing things that are physically difficult is really important. To have the endurance of an all-night vigil. Deprivation. These things are important."

Just before he spoke, we met eight-year-old Freddy from Salisbury, who had queued through the night with his family, wearing his Beavers uniform. Asked what it was like to finally see the Queen, he replied: "It was good... fun." Before the truth set in: "Exhausting. Um. Very... tiring." The presenter, persevering, asked again. What was it *like*? "Um.... sad?" Freddy said, stopping to think, before adding with a shrug: "Sad again." I'm sure he'll tell his grandkids about it, if he has them. But his bewilderment, almost affrontery, at being asked to discuss the experience and describe it on live TV seemed to sum it up. The livestream isn't the most British thing – Freddy is.

When it comes to TV coverage of a royal event, there is no such thing as saturation point. Be it a wedding, a birth, or – as now – a death, we are nationally reconciled to one fact: it will be *endless*. There is talking, talking, and more talking, sending broadcasters into a tail-spin of speculation and contributors reaching for platitudes. So much so that former BBC presenter Simon McCoy frequently went viral for his blunt exasperation at reporting on royal births. "Plenty more to come, none of it news... but that won't stop us," was how he infamously ended one live link from outside the Lindo Wing in 2013. It's ironic, given that a cherished anecdote about the Queen has her taking traumatised war surgeon David Nott to pet the corgis, before saying: "There. That's so much better than talking, isn't it?"

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# Hasty rehash of a case that's already been overexposed

'Johnny vs Amber: The US Trial' goes behind the scenes but doesn't get any closer to the truth, writes **Amanda Whiting**



Johnny Depp and his high-powered attorney Camille Vasquez at trial (Pool/AFP/Getty)

★★☆☆☆

"There's no question that in America we have two systems of justice," celebrity attorney Lisa Bloom says in the tepid new



documentary *Johnny vs Amber: The US Trial*. “One for the very wealthy and powerful, and one for everybody else.”

She goes on to explain that Johnny Depp has “fuck you money”, which means he can spend millions on an all-star legal team. His ex-wife, the actor Amber Heard, has to “scramble to defend herself”. And the sharp-minded Bloom would know. She made a career representing women against disgraced Hollywood predators like Bill Cosby and Bill O’Reilly before switching sides. In 2017, it came to light that Bloom was advising Harvey Weinstein – that’s the power of “fuck you money”.

For those of you who might have somehow missed it, Johnny Depp sued former partner Amber Heard for defamation in Virginia state court over a 2018 *Washington Post* op-ed in which she identified herself as “a public figure representing domestic abuse”. She did not name Depp, but throughout the couple’s high-profile 2016 divorce, allegations of abuse were reported in the media. Depp largely won the jury trial earlier this summer, with Heard ordered to pay the mega-star over \$10m – a mere drop in the bucket of “fuck you money”.

*Johnny vs Amber: The US Trial* is a hasty two-part Discovery+ documentary that literally takes the form of a “he said, she said”. In the first hour, Depp’s legal team, who granted the doc’s camera crew access to their hotel war room, lay out their trial strategy. They also wax about the fundamental importance of “Johnny” – never “my client” or even “Mr Depp” but always the cloyingly over-personal “Johnny” instead – clearing his name. In the second hour, the series attempts to retell the story from Heard’s side, though her legal team declined to participate. Instead of people who know her well, Heard gets talking heads such as Bloom doing reputation rehab.





Supporters standing outside the US trial in Fairfax, Virginia, in May (Getty)

If the title and format seem familiar, it's because the same production team put out another *Johnny vs Amber* series in 2021. That film covered the UK lawsuit Depp brought against *The Sun* over a headline calling him a “wife-beater” – a trial the actor lost. The “sequel” mostly consists of footage from the televised US trial, none of which will surprise people who followed it closely or, honestly, even at a distance. Depp's profane tweets and emails to famous friends such as Elton John and Paul Bettany were on the front page of the internet only a few months ago. And for all the documentary crew's behind-the-scenes access, little that happens there is newsworthy. We get a glimpse of Depp's high-powered attorney Camille Vasquez persuading Kate Moss to testify on his behalf. Vasquez and her colleagues' belief in Depp's innocence never wavers, but then again, they know better than anyone that this trial – like the one in the UK – won't end with the verdict.

It's the second hour of the doc, which focuses on Heard's story, that proves faintly more insightful. Without hours of war room footage, filmmakers focus on the media circus surrounding the trial, even bringing in some of the most followed trial Instagrammers for interviews. (It's not about being “obsessively” detail-oriented, says Jessica Reed Kraus, whose account has a million followers. “It's really about gossip.”) *Johnny vs Amber: Part 2* isn't so much biased as toothless. It's also light on factual information, like, for example, the definition of “defamation” or



even a quick rundown of what happened in the UK. I suppose you could say the documentary's not "obsessively" detail-oriented.

"You don't want to necessarily give all the answers to the jury," Vasquez tells the camera by way of describing what makes a good case. "You want them to come to their own conclusions." Her point is that the real truth isn't as compelling as the truth you tell yourself. It works as a trial strategy, clearly, but also as a prism for understanding this glossy doc. *Johnny vs Amber* doesn't adopt its adversarial framework in the hopes of discovering what really happened, but to make sure everyone's side is at least a little heard. No matter your allegiance, the series gives you just enough information to come to the conclusion you'd probably already reached.

*'Johnny vs Amber: The US Trial' will be available on discovery+ from Tuesday*

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# I'LL DRINK TO THAT

From The Independent archive: **Robert Webb** on Jerry Lee Lewis's country classic, 'What's Made Milwaukee Famous'



**Killer instinct:** Lewis recorded the beer-themed song the day after it was written (Getty)

It was beer that made the industrial port of Milwaukee in Wisconsin famous. The song made a hit for the writer Glenn Sutton, who sadly died in April 2007. In 1968, Sutton was working as a staff producer at Columbia. A burgeoning songwriter, he had also engaged a music publisher, Al Gallico,



and was asked to come up with some material for Jerry Lee Lewis. In the mid-Sixties, the legendary wild man of rock, nicknamed “the Killer”, had been persuaded by his producer, Jerry Kennedy, to switch styles to the more commercial sound of country and western. Sutton delayed the commission and was put on the spot when he took a call from Gallico. A song was needed for a Lewis session the next day and Gallico wanted to know what he’d got.

Sutton had nothing prepared, but he didn’t want to lose the work. He glanced at a paper on his desk. There was an advert for Schlitz, “the beer that made Milwaukee famous”. “I just said to Al, it’s a drinking song,” Sutton told the author Mick Brown. “I’d written a lot of drinking songs before then, but I’d never thought of that.” Schlitz was one of a number of breweries, mostly established by German and Polish immigrants, which had sprung up in Milwaukee since the 19th century. Their slogan made a great title, particularly as a country number. Sutton burnt the midnight oil and “What’s Made Milwaukee Famous (Has Made a Loser Out of Me)” was completed by daybreak.

His twist was in the subtitle. Beer may have put Milwaukee on the map, but it had put the song’s protagonist on the skids. It appealed to the Killer’s instinct, however, and he cut it the day after it was written. Paced around a rolling piano, and sweetened by a plaintive fiddle accompaniment, it shot up the Billboard country chart and opened Lewis’s album *Another Place, Another Time*. It was covered by many, including Sutton’s wife, Lynn Anderson, of “Rose Garden” fame. Rod Stewart returned it to the charts in 1972 and on Lewis’s recent CD *Last Man Standing*, the two singers duetted on an updated version of Sutton’s epitaph.

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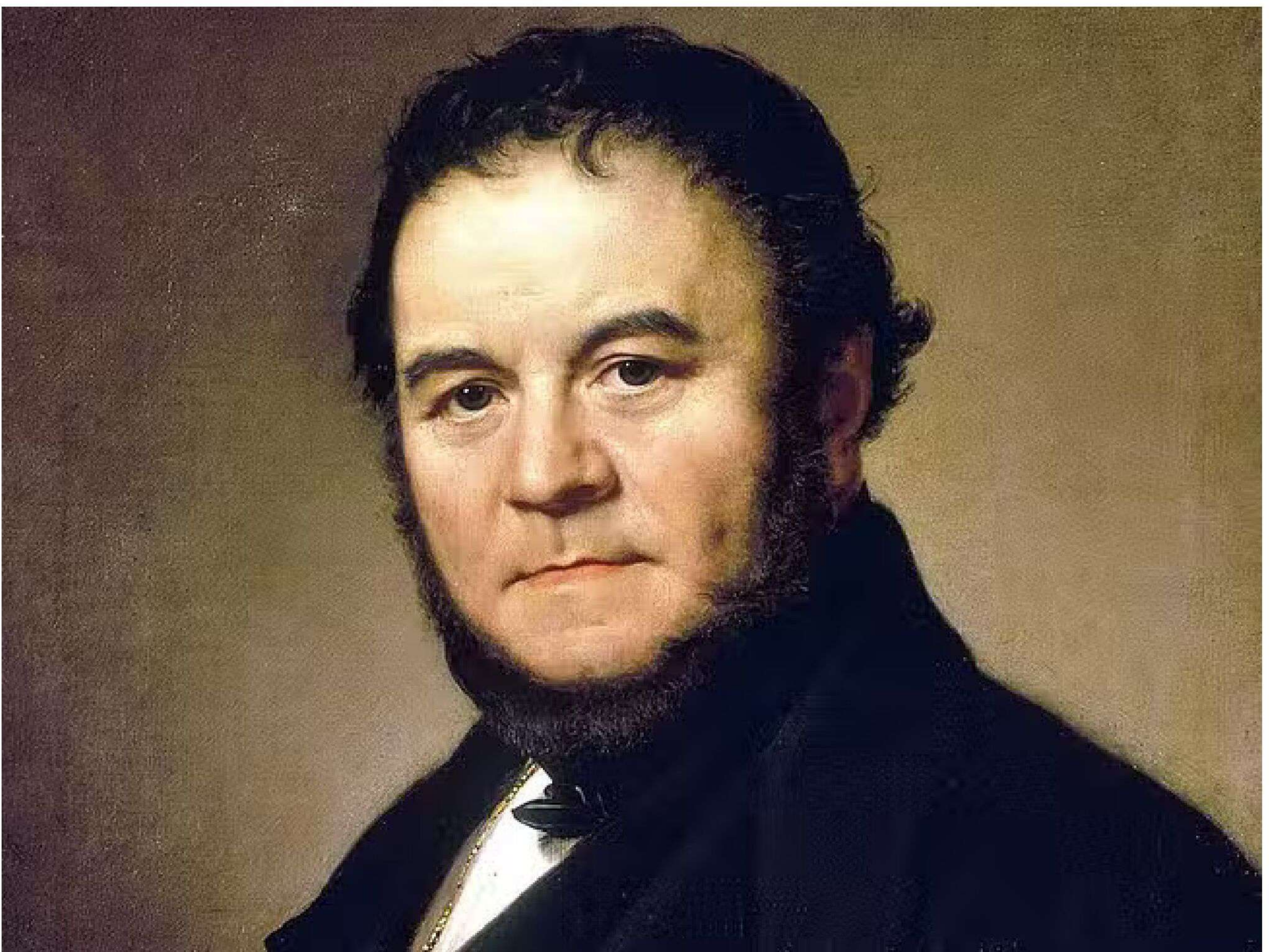
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# NAPOLEON COMPLEX

From The Independent archive: **Piers Paul Read** applauds Stendhal's psychological masterpiece 'Le Rouge et le Noir'



Stendahl's hero, Julien Sorel, was a notorious social climber (Public Domain)

I was around 17 when I first read Stendhal's novel *Le Rouge et le Noir* (*Scarlet and Black*), and the powerful effect it had on me can only be understood in the context of my life at the time. Until the age of eight, I lived near Beaconsfield and my father



commuted to London. Then, in 1949, we moved to a large 18th-century rectory in the North Riding of Yorkshire. There the social landscape was more like Jane Austen's Hampshire than suburban Bucks in the 20th century.

Because of the size of our house and a public-school education, we mixed with the children of local landowners whose parents had grooms and butlers, changed into dinner jackets and long dresses every evening, and pursued with great seriousness the country gentleman's traditional pastimes of hunting, shooting and fishing. My parents did not hunt, shoot or fish: they owned no grouse moors or rolling acres.

My destiny seemed to be to remain low in the pecking order of English society. Then I read *Le Rouge et Le Noir* and the chip on my shoulder disappeared. Stendhal's witty depiction of the pomposity, vanity and philistinism of provincial notables opened my eyes to the absurd posturing of many of our neighbours who, with fortunes made in coal, beer and banking in the grimy West Riding, behaved as their estates had been granted to their ancestors by William the Conqueror.

Although my father was a poet and art critic, my grandfather had been a tenant farmer, so I immediately associated with the novel's hero, Julien Sorel, the son of a peasant, who is taken on by a local notable, M de Rênal, to tutor his children. Julien despises his rich employers but thirsts for glory. With the ruthlessness and calculation of his role model, Napoleon, he mounts a successful campaign to seduce Madame de Rênal, the wife of his employer. Later he moves to Paris and ensnares the daughter of the powerful Marquis de La Mole. Onwards and upwards. The rungs of the ladder that Julien climbs are the tender hearts of beautiful women. There is a dash of misogyny in *Le Rouge et le Noir*, which also struck a chord in my psyche. Stendhal takes relish in delineating the weakness of women.

At the time when I first read the novel, Simone de Beauvoir had yet to make an impact this side of the Channel, and Germaine Greer had yet to fly in from Sydney. Girls in England in the 1950s, as in France in the 1830s, were still made vulnerable by their need of a man to validate their *raison d'être* and bolster



their self-esteem. I had suffered in childhood from a domineering mother and imperious sister. Trifling with the hearts of pretty girls whom I met at debutante dances and hunt balls seemed an appropriate revenge for those years of subjection. This suggests that I was not a particularly nice young man, but then neither was Julien Sorel.

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# Puzzles



## GET THE PICTURE

Find the well known word, name or phrase made by each group of pictures, and the theme that unites them all






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# SATURDAY QUIZ

**Chris Maume** presents his weekly general knowledge quiz



1. Who are the above, and what's the link?
2. Which trade union held its first congress on this day in 1980?
3. Jean-Henri Dunant's book *Memories of Solferino*, his account of his experiences in the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino, led eventually to the foundation of which organisation?



4. If Julie Andrews and Cher are EGOs, and John Gielgud and Whoopi Goldberg are EGOTs, what's Barack Obama?
5. Derry City, Catalans Dragons, Toulouse Olympique, Toronto Blue Jays, Berwick Rangers: what's the link?
6. In an alleyway besides which hotel was Bob Dylan filmed with placards bearing lines from his song "Subterranean Homesick Blues" at the start of the film Don't Look Back?
7. Which German composer died on this day in 1179? She was later beatified and canonised.
8. "The Conservatives... being by the law of their existence the stupidest party." The words of which political philosopher and economist?
9. In which two novels, published in 1915 and 1920, do the sisters Ursula and Gudrun Brangwen appear?
10. Which city in India, inaugurated in 1953, is the capital of two states, Harayana and Punjab?

**[Tap here for answers](#)**

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